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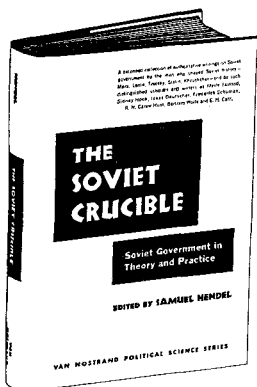
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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July, 1959

What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's?*

ARTHUR S. LINK

IF the day has not yet arrived when we can make a definite synthesis of political developments between the Armistice and the Great Depression, it is surely high time for historians to begin to clear away the accumulated heap of mistaken and half-mistaken hypotheses about this important transitional period. Writing often without fear or much research (to paraphrase Carl Becker's remark), we recent American historians have gone on indefatigably to perpetuate hypotheses that either reflected the disillusionment and despair of contemporaries, or once served their purpose in exposing the alleged hiatus in the great continuum of twentieth-century reform.

Stated briefly, the following are what might be called the governing hypotheses of the period under discussion: The 1920's were a period made almost unique by an extraordinary reaction against idealism and reform. They were

* This paper was read in a slightly different form before a joint meeting of the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in New York City on December 28, 1957.

a time when the political representatives of big business and Wall Street executed a relentless and successful campaign in state and nation to subvert the regulatory structure that had been built at the cost of so much toil and sweat since the 1870's, and to restore a Hanna-like reign of special privilege to benefit business, industry, and finance. The surging tides of nationalism and mass hatreds generated by World War I continued to engulf the land and were manifested, among other things, in fear of communism, suppression of civil liberties, revival of nativism and anti-Semitism most crudely exemplified by the Ku Klux Klan, and in the triumph of racism and prejudice in immigration legislation. The 1920's were an era when great traditions and ideals were repudiated or forgotten, when the American people, propelled by a crass materialism in their scramble for wealth, uttered a curse on twenty-five years of reform endeavor. As a result, progressives were stunned and everywhere in retreat along the entire political front, their forces disorganized and leaderless, their movement shattered, their dreams of a new America turned into agonizing nightmares.

To be sure, the total picture that emerges from these generalizations is overdrawn. Yet it seems fair to say that leading historians have advanced each of these generalizations, that the total picture is the one that most of us younger historians saw during the years of our training, and that these hypotheses to a greater or lesser degree still control the way in which we write and teach about the 1920's, as a reading of textbooks and general works will quickly show.

This paper has not been written, however, to quarrel with anyone or to make an indictment. Its purposes are, first, to attempt to determine the degree to which the governing hypotheses, as stated, are adequate or inadequate to explain the political phenomena of the period, and, second, to discover whether any new and sounder hypotheses might be suggested. Such an effort, of course, must be tentative and above all imperfect in view of the absence of sufficient foundations for a synthesis.

Happily, however, we do not have to proceed entirely in the dark. Historians young and old, but mostly young, have already discovered that the period of the 1920's is the exciting new frontier of American historical research and that its opportunities are almost limitless in view of the mass of manuscript materials that are becoming available. Thus we have (the following examples are mentioned only at random) excellent recent studies of agrarian discontent and farm movements by Theodore Saloutos, John D. Hicks, Gilbert C. Fite, Robert L. Morlan, and James H. Shideler; of nativism and problems of immigration and assimilation by John Higham, Oscar Handlin,

Robert A. Devine, and Edmund D. Cronon; of intellectual currents, the social gospel, and religious controversies by Henry F. May, Paul A. Carter, Robert M. Miller, and Norman F. Furniss; of left-wing politics and labor developments by Theodore Draper, David A. Shannon, Daniel Bell, Paul M. Angle, and Matthew Josephson; of the campaign of 1928 by Edmund A. Moore; and of political and judicial leaders by Alpheus T. Mason, Frank Freidel, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Merlo J. Pusey, and Joel F. Paschal.¹ Moreover, we can look forward to the early publication of studies that will be equally illuminating for the period, like the biographies of George W. Norris, Thomas J. Walsh, and Albert B. Fall now being prepared by Richard Lowitt, Leonard Bates, and David Stratton, respectively, and the recently completed study of the campaign and election of 1920 by Wesley M. Bagby.²

Obviously, we are not only at a point in the progress of our research into the political history of the 1920's when we can begin to generalize, but we have reached the time when we should attempt to find some consensus, however tentative it must now be, concerning the larger political dimensions and meanings of the period.

In answering the question of what happened to the progressive movement in the 1920's, we should begin by looking briefly at some fundamental facts

¹ Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks, *Agrarian Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939* (Madison, Wis., 1951); Gilbert C. Fite, *Peter Norbeck: Prairie Statesman* (Columbia, Mo., 1948), and *George N. Peek and the Fight for Farm Parity* (Norman, Okla., 1954); Robert L. Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire: The Nonpartisan League, 1915-1922* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1955); James H. Shideler, *Farm Crisis, 1919-1923* (Berkeley, Calif., 1957); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1955); Oscar Handlin, *The American People in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); Robert A. Devine, *American Immigration Policy, 1924-1952* (New Haven, Conn., 1957); Edmund D. Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison, Wis., 1955); Henry F. May, "Shifting Perspectives on the 1920's," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIII (Dec., 1956), 405-27; Paul A. Carter, *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1956); Robert M. Miller, "An Inquiry into the Social Attitudes of American Protestantism, 1919-1939," doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1955; Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven, Conn., 1954); Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism* (New York, 1957); David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America: A History* (New York, 1955); Daniel Bell, "The Background and Development of Marxian Socialism in the United States," *Socialism and American Life*, ed. Donald D. Egbert and Stow Persons (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1952), I, 215-405; Paul M. Angle, *Bloody Williamson* (New York, 1952); Matthew Josephson, *Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor* (New York, 1952); Edmund A. Moore, *A Catholic Runs for President: The Campaign of 1928* (New York, 1956); Alpheus Thomas Mason, *Brandeis: A Free Man's Life* (New York, 1946), and *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York, 1956); Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal* (Boston, 1954); Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: The Crisis of the Old Order* (Boston, 1957); Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (2 vols., New York, 1951); Joel Francis Paschal, *Mr. Justice Sutherland: A Man against the State* (Princeton, N. J., 1951).

² Wesley M. Bagby, "Woodrow Wilson and the Great Debacle of 1920," MS in the possession of Professor Bagby; see also his "The 'Smoked-Filled Room' and the Nomination of Warren G. Harding," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLI (Mar., 1955), 657-74, and "Woodrow Wilson, a Third Term, and the Solemn Referendum," *American Historical Review*, LX (Apr., 1955), 567-75.

about the movement before 1918, facts that in large measure predetermined its fate in the 1920's, given the political climate and circumstances that prevailed.

The first of these was the elementary fact that the progressive movement never really existed as a recognizable organization with common goals and a political machinery geared to achieve them. Generally speaking (and for the purposes of this paper), progressivism might be defined as the popular effort, which began convulsively in the 1890's and waxed and waned afterward to our own time, to insure the survival of democracy in the United States by the enlargement of governmental power to control and offset the power of private economic groups over the nation's institutions and life. Actually, of course, from the 1890's on there were many "progressive" movements on many levels seeking sometimes contradictory objectives. Not all, but most of these campaigns were the work of special interest groups or classes seeking greater political status and economic security. This was true from the beginning of the progressive movement in the 1890's; by 1913 it was that movement's most important characteristic.

The second fundamental fact—that the progressive movements were often largely middle class in constituency and orientation—is of course well known, but an important corollary has often been ignored. It was that several of the most important reform movements were inspired, staffed, and led by businessmen with very specific or special-interest objectives in view. Because they hated waste, mismanagement, and high taxes, they, together with their friends in the legal profession, often furnished the leadership of good government campaigns. Because they feared industrial monopoly, abuse of power by railroads, and the growth of financial oligarchy, they were the backbone of the movements that culminated in the adoption of the Hepburn and later acts for railroad regulation, the Federal Reserve Act, and the Federal Trade Commission Act. Among the many consequences of their participation in the progressive movement, two should be mentioned because of their significance for developments in the 1920's: First, the strong identification of businessmen with good government and economic reforms for which the general public also had a lively concern helped preserve the good reputation of the middle-class business community (as opposed to its alleged natural enemies, monopolists, malefactors of great wealth, and railroad barons) and helped to direct the energies of the progressive movement toward the strengthening instead of the shackling of the business community. Second, their activities and influence served to intensify the tensions within the broad reform movement, because they often opposed the demands of farm groups, labor unions, and advocates of social justice.

The third remark to be made about the progressive movement before 1918 is that despite its actual diversity and inner tensions it did seem to have unity; that is, it seemed to share common ideals and objectives. This was true in part because much of the motivation even of the special-interest groups was altruistic (at least they succeeded in convincing themselves that they sought the welfare of society rather than their own interests primarily); in part because political leadership generally succeeded in subordinating inner tensions. It was true, above all, because there were in fact important idealistic elements in the progressive ranks—social gospel leaders, social justice elements, and intellectuals and philosophers—who worked hard at the task of defining and elevating common principles and goals.

Fourth and finally, the substantial progressive achievements before 1918 had been gained, at least on the federal level, only because of the temporary dislocations of the national political structure caused by successive popular uprisings, not because progressives had found or created a viable organization for perpetuating their control. Or, to put the matter another way, before 1918 the various progressive elements had failed to destroy the existing party structure by organizing a national party of their own that could survive. They, or at least many of them, tried in 1912; and it seemed for a time in 1916 that Woodrow Wilson had succeeded in drawing the important progressive groups permanently into the Democratic party. But Wilson's accomplishment did not survive even to the end of the war, and by 1920 traditional partisan loyalties were reasserting themselves with extraordinary vigor.

With this introduction, we can now ask what happened to the progressive movement or movements in the 1920's. Surely no one would contend that after 1916 the political scene did not change significantly, both on the state and national levels. There was the seemingly obvious fact that the Wilsonian coalition had been wrecked by the election of 1920, and that the progressive elements were divided and afterward unable to agree upon a program or to control the national government. There was the even more "obvious" fact that conservative Republican presidents and their cabinets controlled the executive branch throughout the period. There was Congress, as Eric F. Goldman had said, allegedly whooping through procorporation legislation, and the Supreme Court interpreting the New Freedom laws in a way that harassed unions and encouraged trusts.³ There were, to outraged idealists and intellectuals, the more disgusting spectacles of Red hunts, mass arrests and deportations, the survival deep into the 1920's of arrogant nationalism, crusades against the teaching of evolution, the attempted suppression of the

³ Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York, 1953), 284. The "allegedly" in this sentence is mine, not Professor Goldman's.

right to drink, and myriad other manifestations of what would now be called a repressive reaction.⁴

Like the hypotheses suggested at the beginning, this picture is overdrawn in some particulars. But it is accurate in part, for progressivism was certainly on the downgrade if not in decay after 1918. This is an obvious fact that needs explanation and understanding rather than elaborate proof. We can go a long way toward answering our question if we can explain, at least partially, the extraordinary complex developments that converge to produce the "obvious" result.

For this explanation we must begin by looking at the several progressive elements and their relation to each other and to the two major parties after 1916. Since national progressivism was never an organized or independent movement (except imperfectly and then only temporarily in 1912), it could succeed only when its constituent elements formed a coalition strong enough to control one of the major parties. This had happened in 1916, when southern and western farmers, organized labor, the social justice elements, and a large part of the independent radicals who had heretofore voted the Socialist ticket coalesced to continue the control of Wilson and the Democratic party.

The important fact about the progressive coalition of 1916, however, was not its strength but its weakness. It was not a new party but a temporary alliance, welded in the heat of the most extraordinary domestic and external events. To be sure, it functioned for the most part successfully during the war, in providing the necessary support for a program of heavy taxation, relatively stringent controls over business and industry, and extensive new benefits to labor. Surviving in a crippled way even in the months following the Armistice, it put across a program that constituted a sizable triumph for the progressive movement—continued heavy taxation, the Transportation Act of 1920, the culmination of the long fight for railroad regulation, a new child labor act, amendments for prohibition and woman suffrage, immigration restriction, and water power and conservation legislation.

Even so, the progressive coalition of 1916 was inherently unstable. Indeed, it was so wracked by inner tensions that it could not survive, and destruction came inexorably, it seemed systematically, from 1917 to 1920. Why was this true?

First, the independent radicals and antiwar agrarians were alienated by the war declaration and the government's suppression of dissent and civil liberties during the war and the Red scare. Organized labor was disaffected

⁴H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917-1918* (Norman, Okla., 1957); Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1955).

by the administration's coercion of the coal miners in 1919, its lukewarm if not hostile attitude during the great strikes of 1919 and 1920, and its failure to support the Plumb Plan for nationalization of the railroads. Isolationists and idealists were outraged by what they thought was the President's betrayal of American traditions or the liberal peace program at Paris. These tensions were strong enough to disrupt the coalition, but a final one would have been fatal even if the others had never existed. This was the alienation of farmers in the Plains and western states produced by the administration's refusal to impose price controls on cotton while it maintained ceilings on the prices of other agricultural commodities,⁵ and especially by the administration's failure to do anything decisive to stem the downward plunge of farm prices that began in the summer of 1920.⁶ Under the impact of all these stresses, the Wilsonian coalition gradually disintegrated from 1917 to 1920 and disappeared entirely during the campaign of 1920.

The progressive coalition was thus destroyed, but the components of a potential movement remained. As we will see, these elements were neither inactive nor entirely unsuccessful in the 1920's. But they obviously failed to find common principles and a program, much less to unite effectively for political action on a national scale. I suggest that this was true, in part at least, for the following reasons:

First, the progressive elements could never create or gain control of a political organization capable of carrying them into national office. The Republican party was patently an impossible instrument because control of the GOP was too much in the hands of the eastern and midwestern industrial, oil, and financial interests, as it had been since about 1910. There was always the hope of a third party. Several progressive groups—insurgent midwestern Republicans, the railroad brotherhoods, a segment of the AF of L, and the moderate Socialists under Robert M. La Follette—tried to realize this goal in 1924, only to discover that third party movements in the United States are doomed to failure except in periods of enormous national turmoil, and that the 1920's were not such a time. Thus the Democratic party remained the only vehicle that conceivably could have been used by a new progressive coalition. But that party was simply not capable of such service in the 1920's. It was so torn by conflicts between its eastern, big city wing and its southern and western rural majority that it literally ceased to be a national

⁵ On this point, see Seward W. Livermore, "The Sectional Issue in the 1918 Congressional Elections," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXV (June, 1948), 29-60.

⁶ Arthur S. Link, "The Federal Reserve Policy and the Agricultural Depression of 1920-1921," *Agricultural History*, XX (July, 1946), 166-75; and Herbert F. Margulies, "The Election of 1920 in Wisconsin: The Return to 'Normalcy' Reappraised," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XXXVIII (Autumn, 1954), 15-22.

party. It remained strong in its sectional and metropolitan components, but it was so divided that it barely succeeded in nominating a presidential candidate at all in 1924 and nominated one in 1928 only at the cost of temporary disruption.⁷

Progressivism declined in the 1920's, in the second place, because, as has been suggested, the tensions that had wrecked the coalition of 1916 not only persisted but actually grew in number and intensity. The two most numerous progressive elements, the southern and western farmers, strongly supported the Eighteenth Amendment, were heavily tinged with nativism and therefore supported immigration restriction, were either members of, friendly to, or politically afraid of the Ku Klux Klan, and demanded as the principal plank in their platform legislation to guarantee them a larger share of the national income. On all these points and issues the lower and lower middle classes in the large cities stood in direct and often violent opposition to their potential allies in the rural areas. Moreover, the liaison between the farm groups and organized labor, which had been productive of much significant legislation during the Wilson period, virtually ceased to exist in the 1920's. There were many reasons for this development, and I mention only one—the fact that the preeminent spokesmen of farmers in the 1920's, the new Farm Bureau Federation, represented the larger commercial farmers who (in contrast to the members of the leading farm organization in Wilson's day, the National Farmers' Union) were often employers themselves and felt no identification with the rank and file of labor.

It was little wonder, therefore (and this is a third reason for the weakness of progressivism in the 1920's), that the tension-ridden progressive groups were never able to agree upon a program that, like the Democratic platform of 1916, could provide the basis for a revived coalition. So long as progressive groups fought one another more fiercely than they fought their natural opponents, such agreement was impossible; and so long as common goals were impossible to achieve, a national progressive movement could not take effective form. Nothing illustrates this better than the failure of the Democratic conventions of 1924 and 1928 to adopt platforms that could rally and unite the discontented elements. One result, among others, was that southern farmers voted as Democrats and western farmers as Republicans. And, as Professor Frank Freidel once commented to the author, much of the failure of progressivism in the 1920's can be explained by this elementary fact.

⁷ For a highly partisan account of these events see Karl Schriftgiesser, *This Was Normalcy* (Boston, 1948). More balanced are the already cited Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal*, and Schlesinger, *The Age of Roosevelt: The Crisis of the Old Order*.

A deeper reason for the failure of progressives to unite ideologically in the 1920's was what might be called a substantial paralysis of the progressive mind. This was partly the result of the repudiation of progressive ideals by many intellectuals and the defection from the progressive movement of the urban middle classes and professional groups, as will be demonstrated. It was the result, even more importantly, of the fact that progressivism as an organized body of political thought found itself at a crossroads in the 1920's, like progressivism today, and did not know which way to turn. The major objectives of the progressive movement of the prewar years had in fact been largely achieved by 1920. In what direction should progressivism now move? Should it remain in the channels already deeply cut by its own traditions, and, while giving sincere allegiance to the ideal of democratic capitalism, work for more comprehensive programs of business regulation and assistance to disadvantaged classes like farmers and submerged industrial workers? Should it abandon these traditions and, like most similar European movements, take the road toward a moderate socialism with a predominantly labor orientation? Should it attempt merely to revive the goals of more democracy through changes in the political machinery? Or should it become mainly an agrarian movement with purely agrarian goals?

These were real dilemmas, not academic ones, and one can see numerous examples of how they confused and almost paralyzed progressives in the 1920's. The platform of La Follette's Progressive party of 1924 offers one revealing illustration. It embodied much that was old and meaningless by this time (the direct election of the president and a national referendum before the adoption of a war resolution, for example) and little that had any real significance for the future.⁸ And yet it was the best that a vigorous and idealistic movement could offer. A second example was the plight of the agrarians and insurgents in Congress who fought so hard all through the 1920's against Andrew Mellon's proposals to abolish the inheritance tax and to make drastic reductions in the taxes on large incomes. In view of the rapid reduction of the federal debt, the progressives were hard pressed to justify the continuation of nearly confiscatory tax levels, simply because few of them realized the wide social and economic uses to which the income tax could be put. Lacking any programs for the redistribution of the national income (except to farmers), they were plagued and overwhelmed by the surpluses in the federal Treasury until, for want of any good arguments, they finally gave Secretary'

⁸ For a different picture see Belle C. La Follette and Fola La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette* (2 vols., New York, 1953); and Russel B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics, 1870-1950* (East Lansing, Mich., 1951). Both works contribute to an understanding of progressive politics in the 1920's.

Andrew Mellon the legislation he had been demanding.⁹ A third and final example of this virtual paralysis of the progressive mind was perhaps the most revealing of all. It was the attempt that Woodrow Wilson, Louis D. Brandeis, and other Democratic leaders made from 1921 to 1924 to draft a new charter for progressivism. Except for its inevitable proposals for an idealistic world leadership, the document that emerged from this interchange included little or nothing that would have sounded new to a western progressive in 1912.

A fourth reason for the disintegration and decline of the progressive movement in the 1920's was the lack of any effective leadership. Given the political temper and circumstances of the 1920's, it is possible that such leadership could not have operated successfully in any event. Perhaps the various progressive elements were so mutually hostile and so self-centered in interests and objectives that even a Theodore Roosevelt or a Woodrow Wilson, had they been at the zenith of their powers in the 1920's, could not have drawn them together in a common front. We will never know what a strong national leader might have done because by a trick of fate no such leader emerged before Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Four factors, then, contributed to the failure of the progressive components to unite successfully after 1918 and, as things turned out, before 1932: the lack of a suitable political vehicle, the severity of the tensions that kept progressives apart, the failure of progressives to agree upon a common program, and the absence of a national leadership, without which a united movement could never be created and sustained. These were all weaknesses that stemmed to a large degree from the instability and failures of the progressive movement itself.

There were, besides, a number of what might be called external causes for the movement's decline. In considering them one must begin with what was seemingly the most important—the alleged fact that the 1920's were a very unpropitious time for any new progressive revolt because of the ever-increasing level of economic prosperity, the materialism, and the general contentment of the decade 1919 to 1929. Part of this generalization is valid when applied to specific elements in the population. For example, the rapid rise in the real wages of industrial workers, coupled with generally full employment and the spread of so-called welfare practices among management, certainly did much to weaken and avert the further spread of organized labor, and thus to debilitate one of the important progressive components.

⁹ Here indebtedness is acknowledged to Sidney Ratner, *American Taxation: Its History as a Social Force in Democracy* (New York, 1942).

But to say that it was prosperity per se that created a climate unfriendly to progressive ideals would be inaccurate. There was little prosperity and much depression during the 1920's for the single largest economic group, the farmers, as well as for numerous other groups. Progressivism, moreover, can flourish as much during periods of prosperity as during periods of discontent, as the history of the development of the progressive movement from 1901 to 1917 and of its triumph from 1945 to 1956 prove.

Vastly more important among the external factors in the decline of progressivism was the widespread, almost wholesale, defection from its ranks of the middle classes—the middling businessmen, bankers, and manufacturers, and the professional people closely associated with them in ideals and habits—in American cities large and small. For an understanding of this phenomenon no simple explanations like “prosperity” or the “temper of the times” will suffice, although they give some insight. The important fact was that these groups found a new economic and social status as a consequence of the flowering of American enterprise under the impact of the technological, financial, and other revolutions of the 1920's. If, as Professor Richard Hofstadter had claimed,¹⁰ the urban middle classes were progressive (that is, they demanded governmental relief from various anxieties) in the early 1900's because they resented their loss of social prestige to the *nouveaux riches* and feared being ground under by monopolists in industry, banking, and labor—if this is true, then the urban middle classes were not progressive in the 1920's for inverse reasons. Their temper was dynamic, expansive, and supremely confident. They knew that they were building a new America, a business civilization based not upon monopoly and restriction but upon a whole new set of business values—mass production and consumption, short hours and high wages, full employment, welfare capitalism. And what was more important, virtually the entire country (at least the journalists, writers in popular magazines, and many preachers and professors) acknowledged that the nation's destiny was in good hands. It was little wonder, therefore, that the whole complex of groups constituting the urban middle classes, whether in New York, Zenith, or Middletown, had little interest in rebellion or even in mild reform proposals that seemed to imperil their leadership and control.

Other important factors, of course, contributed to the contentment of the urban middle classes. The professionalization of business and the full-blown emergence of a large managerial class had a profound impact upon social and political ideals. The acceleration of mass advertising played its role, as did

¹⁰ Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 131ff.

also the beginning disintegration of the great cities with the spread of middle- and upper-middle-class suburbs, a factor that diffused the remaining reform energies among the urban leaders.

A second external factor in the decline of the progressive movement after 1918 was the desertion from its ranks of a good part of the intellectual leadership of the country. Indeed, more than simple desertion was involved here; it was often a matter of a cynical repudiation of the ideals from which progressivism derived its strength. I do not mean to imply too much by this generalization. I know that what has been called intellectual progressivism not only survived in the 1920's but actually flourished in many fields.¹¹ I know that the intellectual foundations of our present quasi-welfare state were either being laid or reinforced during the decade. Even so, one cannot evade the conclusion that the intellectual-political climate of the 1920's was vastly different from the one that had prevailed in the preceding two decades.

During the years of the great progressive revolt, intellectuals—novelists, journalists, political thinkers, social scientists, historians, and the like—had made a deeply personal commitment to the cause of democracy, first in domestic and then in foreign affairs. Their leadership in and impact on many phases of the progressive movement had been profound. By contrast, in the 1920's a large body of this intellectual phalanx turned against the very ideals they had once deified. One could cite, for example, the reaction of the idealists against the Versailles settlement; the disenchantment of the intellectuals with the extension of government authority when it could be used to justify the Eighteenth Amendment or the suppression of free speech; or the inevitable loss of faith in the "people" when en masse they hounded so-called radicals, joined Bryan's crusade against evolution, or regaled themselves as Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Whatever the cause, many alienated intellectuals simply withdrew or repudiated any identification with the groups they had once helped to lead. The result was not fatal to progressivism, but it was serious. The spark plugs had been removed from the engine of reform.

The progressive movement, then, unquestionably declined, but was it defunct in the 1920's? Much, of course, depends upon the definition of terms. If we accept the usual definition for "defunct" as "dead" or "ceasing to have any life or strength," we must recognize that the progressive movement was certainly not defunct in the 1920's; that on the contrary at least important parts of it were very much alive; and that it is just as important to know

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 5, 131, 135 ff. For a recent excellent survey, previously cited, see Henry F. May, "Shifting Perspectives on the 1920's." Schlesinger's previously cited *Age of Roosevelt* sheds much new light on the economic thought of the 1920's.

how and why progressivism survived as it is to know how and why it declined.

To state the matter briefly, progressivism survived in the 1920's because several important elements of the movement remained either in full vigor or in only slightly diminished strength. These were the farmers, after 1918 better organized and more powerful than during the high tide of the progressive revolt; the politically conscious elements among organized labor, particularly the railroad brotherhoods, who wielded a power all out of proportion to their numbers; the Democratic organizations in the large cities, usually vitally concerned with the welfare of the so-called lower classes; a remnant of independent radicals, social workers, and social gospel writers and preachers; and finally, an emerging new vocal element, the champions of public power and regional developments.

Although they never united effectively enough to capture a major party and the national government before 1932, these progressive elements controlled Congress from 1921 to about 1927 and continued to exercise a near control during the period of their greatest weakness in the legislative branch, from 1927 to about 1930.

Indeed, the single most powerful and consistently successful group in Congress during the entire decade from 1919 to 1929 were the spokesmen of the farmers. Spurred by an unrest in the country areas more intense than at any time since the 1890's,¹² in 1920 and 1921 southern Democrats and mid-western and western insurgents, nominally Republican, joined forces in an alliance called the Farm Bloc. By maintaining a common front from 1921 to 1924 they succeeded in enacting the most advanced agricultural legislation to that date, legislation that completed the program begun under Wilsonian auspices. It included measures for high tariffs on agricultural products, thoroughgoing federal regulation of stockyards, packing houses, and grain exchanges, the exemption of agricultural cooperatives from the application of the antitrust laws, stimulation of the export of agricultural commodities, and the establishment of an entirely new federal system of intermediate rural credit.

When prosperity failed to return to the countryside, rural leaders in Congress espoused a new and bolder plan for relief—the proposal made by George N. Peek and Hugh S. Johnson in 1922 to use the federal power to obtain “fair exchange” or “parity” prices for farm products. Embodied in

¹² It derived from the fact that farm prices plummeted in 1920 and 1921, and remained so low that farmers, generally speaking, operated at a net capital loss throughout the balance of the decade.

the McNary-Haugen bill in 1924, this measure was approved by Congress in 1927 and 1928, only to encounter vetoes by President Calvin Coolidge.

In spite of its momentary failure, the McNary-Haugen bill had a momentous significance for the American progressive movement. Its wholesale espousal by the great mass of farm leaders and spokesmen meant that the politically most powerful class in the country had come full scale to the conviction that the taxing power should be used directly and specifically for the purpose of underwriting (some persons called it subsidizing) agriculture. It was a milestone in the development of a comprehensive political doctrine that it was government's duty to protect the economic security of all classes and particularly depressed ones. McNary-Haugenism can be seen in its proper perspective if it is remembered that it would have been considered almost absurd in the Wilson period, that it was regarded as radical by non-farm elements in the 1920's, and that it, or at any rate its fundamental objective, was incorporated almost as a matter of course into basic federal policy in the 1930's.

A second significant manifestation of the survival of progressivism in the 1920's came during the long controversy over public ownership or regulation of the burgeoning electric power industry. In this, as in most of the conflicts that eventually culminated on Capitol Hill, the agrarian element constituted the core of progressive strength. At the same time a sizable and well-organized independent movement developed that emanated from urban centers and was vigorous on the municipal and state levels. Throughout the decade this relatively new progressive group fought with mounting success to expose the propaganda of the private utilities, to strengthen state and federal regulatory agencies, and to win municipal ownership for distributive facilities. Like the advocates of railroad regulation in an earlier period, these proponents of regulation or ownership of a great new natural monopoly failed almost as much as they had succeeded in the 1920's. But their activities and exposures (the Federal Trade Commission's devastating investigation of the electric power industry in the late 1920's and early 1930's was the prime example) laid secure foundations for movements that in the 1930's would reach various culminations.

Even more significant for the future of American progressivism was the emergence in the 1920's of a new objective, that of committing the federal government to plans for large hydroelectric projects in the Tennessee Valley, the Columbia River watershed, the Southwest, and the St. Lawrence Valley for the purpose, some progressives said, of establishing "yardsticks" for rates, or for the further purpose, as other progressives declared, of beginning a

movement for the eventual nationalization of the entire electric power industry. The development of this movement in its emerging stages affords a good case study in the natural history of American progressivism. It began when the Harding and Coolidge administrations attempted to dispose of the government's hydroelectric and nitrate facilities at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, to private interests. In the first stage of the controversy, the progressive objective was merely federal operation of these facilities for the production of cheap fertilizer—a reflection of its exclusive special-interest orientation. Then, as new groups joined the fight to save Muscle Shoals, the objective of public production of cheap electric power came to the fore. Finally, by the end of the 1920's, the objective of a multipurpose regional development in the Tennessee Valley and in other areas as well had taken firm shape.

In addition, by 1928 the agrarians in Congress led by Senator George W. Norris had found enough allies in the two houses and enough support in the country at large to adopt a bill for limited federal development of the Tennessee Valley. Thwarted by President Coolidge's pocket veto, the progressives tried again in 1931, only to meet a second rebuff at the hands of President Herbert Hoover.

All this might be regarded as another milestone in the maturing of American progressivism. It signified a deviation from the older traditions of mere regulation, as President Hoover had said in his veto of the second Muscle Shoals bill, and the triumph of new concepts of direct federal leadership in large-scale development of resources. If progressives had not won their goal by the end of the 1920's, they had at least succeeded in writing what would become perhaps the most important plank in their program for the future.

The maturing of an advanced farm program and the formulation of plans for public power and regional developments may be termed the two most significant progressive achievements on the national level in the 1920's. Others merit only brief consideration. One was the final winning of the old progressive goal of immigration restriction through limited and selective admission. The fact that this movement was motivated in part by racism, nativism, and anti-Semitism (with which, incidentally, a great many if not a majority of progressives were imbued in the 1920's) should not blind us to the fact that it was also progressive. It sought to substitute a so-called scientific and a planned policy for a policy of laissez faire. Its purpose was admittedly to disturb the free operation of the international labor market. Organized labor and social workers had long supported it against the opposition of large employers. And there was prohibition, the most ambitious and revealing

progressive experiment of the twentieth century. Even the condemned anti-evolution crusade of Bryan and the fundamentalists and the surging drives for conformity of thought and action in other fields should be mentioned. All these movements stemmed from the conviction that organized public power could and should be used purposefully to achieve fundamental social and so-called moral change. The fact that they were potentially or actively repressive does not mean that they were not progressive. On the contrary, they superbly illustrated the repressive tendencies that inhered in progressivism precisely because it was grounded so much upon majoritarian principles.

Three other developments on the national level that have often been cited as evidences of the failure of progressivism in the 1920's appear in a somewhat different light at second glance. The first was the reversal of the tariff-for-revenue-only tendencies of the Underwood Act with the enactment of the Emergency Tariff Act of 1921 and the Fordney-McCumber Act of 1922. Actually, the adoption of these measures signified, on the whole, not a repudiation but a revival of progressive principles in the realm of federal fiscal policy. A revenue tariff had never been an authentic progressive objective. Indeed, at least by 1913, many progressives, except for some southern agrarians, had concluded that it was retrogressive and had agreed that the tariff laws should be used deliberately to achieve certain national objectives—for example, the crippling of noncompetitive big business by the free admission of articles manufactured by so-called trusts, or benefits to farmers by the free entry of farm implements. Wilson himself had been at least partially converted to these principles by 1916, as his insistence upon the creation of the Federal Tariff Commission and his promise of protection to the domestic chemical industry revealed. As for the tariff legislation of the early 1920's, its only important changes were increased protection for aluminum, chemical products, and agricultural commodities. It left the Underwood rates on the great mass of raw materials and manufactured goods largely undisturbed. It may have been economically shortsighted and a bad example for the rest of the world, but for the most part it was progressive in principle and was the handiwork of the progressive coalition in Congress.

Another development that has often been misunderstood in its relation to the progressive movement was the policies of consistent support that the Harding and Coolidge administrations adopted for business enterprise, particularly the policy of the Federal Trade Commission in encouraging the formation of trade associations and the diminution of certain traditional competitive practices. The significance of all this can easily be overrated.

Such policies as these two administrations executed had substantial justification in progressive theory and in precedents clearly established by the Wilson administration.

A third challenge to usual interpretations concerns implications to be drawn from the election of Harding and Coolidge in 1920 and 1924. These elections seem to indicate the triumph of reaction among the mass of American voters. Yet one could argue that both Harding and Coolidge were political accidents, the beneficiaries of grave defects in the American political and constitutional systems. The rank and file of Republican voters demonstrated during the preconvention campaign that they wanted vigorous leadership and a moderately progressive candidate in 1920. They got Harding instead, not because they wanted him, but because unusual circumstances permitted a small clique to thwart the will of the majority.¹³ They took Coolidge as their candidate in 1924 simply because Harding died in the middle of his term and there seemed to be no alternative to nominating the man who had succeeded him in the White House. Further, an analysis of the election returns in 1920 and 1924 will show that the really decisive factor in the victories of Harding and Coolidge was the fragmentation of the progressive movement and the fact that an opposition strong enough to rally and unite the progressive majority simply did not exist.

There remains, finally, a vast area of progressive activity about which we yet know very little. One could mention the continuation of old reform movements and the development of new ones in the cities and states during the years following the Armistice: For example, the steady spread of the city manager form of government, the beginning of zoning and planning movements, and the efforts of the great cities to keep abreast of the transportation revolution then in full swing. Throughout the country the educational and welfare activities of the cities and states steadily increased. Factory legislation matured, while social insurance had its experimental beginnings. Whether such reform impulses were generally weak or strong, one cannot say; but what we do know about developments in cities like Cincinnati and states like New York, Wisconsin, and Louisiana¹⁴ justifies a challenge to the assumption that municipal and state reform energies were dead after 1918 and, incidentally, a plea to young scholars to plow this unworked field of recent American history.

¹³ Much that is new on the Republican preconvention campaign and convention of 1920 may be found in William T. Hutchinson, *Lowden of Illinois: The Life of Frank O. Lowden* (2 vols., Chicago, 1957).

¹⁴ See, e.g., Allan P. Sindler, *Huey Long's Louisiana: State Politics, 1920-1952* (Baltimore, Md., 1956).

Let us, then, suggest a tentative synthesis as an explanation of what happened to the progressive movement after 1918:

First, the national progressive movement, which had found its most effective embodiment in the coalition of forces that reelected Woodrow Wilson in 1916, was shattered by certain policies that the administration pursued from 1917 to 1920, and by some developments over which the administration had no or only slight control. The collapse that occurred in 1920 was not inevitable and cannot be explained by merely saying that "the war killed the progressive movement."

Second, large and aggressive components of a potential new progressive coalition remained after 1920. These elements never succeeded in uniting effectively before the end of the decade, not because they did not exist, but because they were divided by conflicts among themselves. National leadership, which in any event did not emerge in the 1920's, perhaps could not have succeeded in subduing these tensions and in creating a new common front.

Third, as a result of the foregoing, progressivism as an organized national force suffered a serious decline in the 1920's. This decline was heightened by the defection of large elements among the urban middle classes and the intellectuals, a desertion induced by technological, economic, and demographic changes, and by the outcropping of certain repressive tendencies in progressivism after 1917.

Fourth, in spite of reversals and failures, important components of the national progressive movement survived in considerable vigor and succeeded to a varying degree, not merely in keeping the movement alive, but even in broadening its horizons. This was true particularly of the farm groups and of the coalition concerned with public regulation or ownership of electric power resources. These two groups laid the groundwork in the 1920's for significant new programs in the 1930's and beyond.

Fifth, various progressive coalitions controlled Congress for the greater part of the 1920's and were always a serious threat to the conservative administrations that controlled the executive branch. Because this was true, most of the legislation adopted by Congress during this period, including many measures that historians have inaccurately called reactionary, was progressive in character.

Sixth, the progressive movement in the cities and states was far from dead in the 1920's, although we do not have sufficient evidence to justify any generalizations about the degree of its vigor.

If this tentative and imperfect synthesis has any value, perhaps it is high time that we discard the sweeping generalizations, false hypotheses, and

clichés that we have so often used in explaining and characterizing political developments from 1918 to 1929. Perhaps we should try to see these developments for what they were—the normal and ordinary political behavior of groups and classes caught up in a swirl of social and economic change. When we do this we will no longer ask whether the progressive movement was defunct in the 1920's. We will ask only what happened to it and why.

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England's First Attempt to Break the Commercial Monopoly of the Hanseatic League, 1377-1380

HYMAN PALAIS

DURING the second half of the fourteenth century English traders first seriously threatened the Hanseatic League's commercial monopoly in the Baltic. The League, attempting to defend its monopoly, treated the English unjustly, whereupon in 1377 the English Parliament rescinded the charter that granted the League important concessions and privileges in its English trade. Parliament refused to return the charter until English merchants received the same rights to trade in the districts of the Hanse that it enjoyed in England. Finally, in 1380, the Hanse agreed to the English proposal, and the charter was returned to them.

Throughout the greater part of the Middle Ages, nearly all of England's foreign trade was in the hands of merchants from other countries, particularly Italy, the Low Countries, and the Hanse towns. The king, Parliament, and even the English merchants acknowledged the usefulness of foreign merchants to the realm and encouraged them as importers and exporters in order to profit from them politically and financially. In return for their valuable services alien merchants received many important privileges and concessions.¹

German merchants were among the most favored of all the foreigners in England. As early as the ninth century merchants of Cologne were mentioned as living in Dowgate and already complaining against interference with their privileges.² Successive English kings confirmed their privileges and granted many new concessions.³ Germans from the Hanse towns had

¹ Many royal charters and especially the *Carta Mercatoria* of 1303 conferred on foreign merchants valuable exemptions from customs tariffs. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (12 vols., Glasgow, 1903), I, 316, 319, 333; J. M. Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte des Hansischen Stahlhofes zu London* (2 vols., Hamburg, 1851), II, 1-17.

² The London Hanse in the Middle Ages has been the subject of the investigations of Daenell, Kunze, Lappenberg, and other contributors to the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. For an excellent survey and bibliography see also Michael Postan's article in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. H. Clapham and Eileen Power (2 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1941-52), II, 223 ff. See also Cornelius Walford, "An Outline History of the Hanseatic League," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1881), IX, 82-136.

³ Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, II, 3 (Henry II); 5 (Richard I); 8 (John). Hakluyt,

the right to engage in wholesale trade in all the markets in England without paying such customary taxes as wharfage, pontage, or pannage. They were also granted many privileges, among them those of denizenship, freedom from arrest, speedy justice and recovery, and standard weights.⁴

In London the Hanse had its own guildhall and "Hanshouse," which protected its goods from weather and thieves.⁵ The buildings, including a dyehouse, wine cellar, and gardens "planted with vines and fruit trees stretching down to the riverside," were located at the corner of Cosin Lane and Windgoose Alley on the Wallbrook in Thames Street. In 1320 the Hanse merchants rented additional houses in the area east of Windgoose Alley in the Steelyard, where the goods of the Hanse merchants were displayed when there was no room in their guildhall. Later they occupied rooms and cellars in the area adjoining the Steelyard, which was next to their old guildhall. All the Hanse towns were represented at this depot, and every member had to abide by the common rules and pay his share of the expenses. Women of loose morals and barbers and goldsmiths' apprentices were forbidden entrance to their yard, and no one was allowed to leave straw, "or mess, or other foulness about," under penalty of a fine. No fighting or ball playing was allowed, and none of their English friends could be brought in, lest they learn some of the Hanse trade secrets.⁶

From the thirteenth century on, after an official of the Hanse became an alderman of London, the Hanse shared municipal authority in the city of London. Its representative had to be a freeman from London and take an oath before the mayor and aldermen of the city that he would maintain justice in the courts and behave himself according to the customs of the city.⁷

From the middle of the fourteenth century the Hanse had two aldermen,

Principal Navigations, I, 319 (John); 321 (Henry III); 333 (Edward I). *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 1216-1509 (Rolls Series, London, 1894-1916), 1324-27, p. 269 (Edward II). Hereafter cited as *CPR. Statutes of the Realm*, 1101-1713, ed. T. E. Tomlins, Alexander Luders, John Raithby, et al. (12 vols. plus index, London, 1810-28), I, 270 (Edward III).

⁴ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, I, 333-36.

⁵ The guildhall of the Teutonic or Hanse merchants (Gildhalle Teutonicorum) is sometimes erroneously regarded as also the guildhall of the Cologne merchants (Gildhalle Colonien-sium). The two were probably distinct establishments. Each was a separate organization and owed separate dues to the city of London. The distinction and antagonism between the two groups of merchants apparently diminished in the latter half of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries, but was still alive or was revived in the late fifteenth century. *Munimenta Gildhalle Londinenses, Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, 3 vols., London, 1859-62), I, xcvi. Hereafter cited as *Liber Albus* or *Liber Custumarum* or *Liber Horn*. The Gildhalle Teutonicorum at the corner of Cosin Lane and Upper Thames Street was also distinct from the original "Stahlhof" or Steelyard, which was on the east of Windgoose Lane. Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, I, 56, 72-73; II, 96, 142. Later, however, the term Steelyard was applied to the entire property.

⁶ Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, I, 24-25, 32-34, 58, 60, 71, 73, 124; II, 117, 120-21.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 13, 15; *Liber Albus*, ed. Riley, I, 485-88.

one German and the other English, because a German who became a citizen lost his membership in the Hanse.⁸ The English alderman, often the Mayor of London, acted as intermediary between the city authorities and the Hanse and looked after its interests.⁹ The German alderman was the actual head of the Hanse. Responsible to both the city and the Hanse, he exercised certain important judicial powers at least as early as 1282.¹⁰ He administered the law in the mornspeech (the periodical assembly that the guild held the day after the guild feast), heard cases between members of the Hanse, and also cases between Hansards and Englishmen when the former were defendants. Only when a creditor could not collect his debt in the alderman's court was he free to have recourse to the city or higher courts.¹¹ The Hanse factory enjoyed certain privileges, and while benefiting by English law, was quite independent of it. Everything, therefore, was favorable to Hanseatic commerce, and German merchants were hampered by no such restrictions as weighed, not only upon other foreigners, but upon the English themselves.¹²

German merchants also engaged in many financial activities that resulted in further privileges.¹³ The failure of Edward III's Italian financiers, the Bardi, Frescobaldi, and Peruzzi,¹⁴ and the inability of English merchants immediately to take their place gave these merchants of the Hanse the opportunity to become financiers of the king and of the English merchants in whose names some of the great loans of the period were made.¹⁵ For several

⁸ Karl Engel, "Die Organisation der deutsch-hansischen Kaufleute in England im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert bis zum Utrechter Frieden von 1474," pt. 1, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, XIX (no. 2, 1913), 499.

⁹ *Calendar of Letter Books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, A-L*, ca. 1275-temp. Henry VII, ed. R. R. Sharpe (8 vols., London, 1899-1912), H, 158 (hereafter cited as *Letter Book*); *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, 975-1500, ed. Konstantine Hohlbaum, Karl Kunze, Walther Stein (10 vols., Halle, 1876-1907), IV, no. 709. Hereafter cited as *HUB*.

¹⁰ Engel, "Deutsch-hansischen Kaufleute," pt. 1, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, XIX (no. 2, 1913), 508; pt. 2, *ibid.*, XX (no. 1, 1914), 176; *Liber Albus*, ed. Riley, I, 485-88.

¹¹ *HUB*, II, no. 31, par. 8; Friedrich Schulz, *die Hanse und England von Eduards III. bis auf Heinrichs VIII. Zeit*, Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs und Seegeschichte, ed. Dietrich Schäfer (8 vols., Berlin, 1911), V, 187.

¹² Hubert Hall, *A History of the Custom-Revenue in England* (London, 1885), 24, 26; John Wheeler, *A Treatise of Commerce* (New York, 1931), 63.

¹³ Joseph Hansen, "Der englische Staatskredit unter König Eduard III. (1327-1377) und die hansischen Kaufleute," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, XVI (no. 2, 1910), 323-415.

¹⁴ W. E. Rhodes, "The Italian Bankers in England and Their Loans to Edward I and Edward II," *Historical Essays of Owens College, Manchester*, ed. Thomas F. and John Tout (Manchester, 1907); Charles Johnson, "An Italian Financial House in the xiv Century," *Transactions of St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society* (n.s., St. Albans, 1903), I; *Frazer's Magazine*, LXXIV (Oct., 1866), 418-19; *Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1343-46* ([London], 1904, 45-46 (hereafter cited as *CCR*); *CPR, 1343-45*, pp. 156-57; *ibid.*, 1345-48, pp. 13-14; *Calendar of the Fine Rolls, 1337-47* ([London], 1911-13), 2-3 (hereafter cited as *CFR*).

¹⁵ Georg Grosch, "Die Geldgeschäfte hansischer Kaufleute mit englischen Königen im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert," pt. 1, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, II (no. 2, 1904), 121-71; pt. 2, *ibid.* (no. 3, 1904), 265-95. See also William Cunningham, "The Commercial Policy of Edward III," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (n.s., London, 1889), IV, 197-216.

years one of these German merchants, Tidemann von Limberg, possessed the valuable tin mines in Cornwall.¹⁶

In order to protect their interests when dealing with citizens of foreign ports, the German merchants banded together into independent corporations, *Hansae*, which in the fourteenth century were eventually combined in a somewhat loose and ill-defined organization called the Hanseatic League.¹⁷ The League was formally established after the successful conclusion of its great war against Waldemar Atterdag of Denmark in 1370.¹⁸ The German towns were distributed into four districts. Lübeck, head of the first, had under it Hamburg, Bremen, Rostock, Wismar, and others; Cologne, head of the second, had twenty-nine towns under it; Brunswick, head of the third, led thirteen towns; Danzig, head of the fourth, led eight neighboring towns as well as various others more remote.¹⁹

After the formation of the Hanseatic League, German merchants continued to aid the needy English kings and thus retained their many rights and privileges.²⁰ The merchants of the various English towns, of course, especially those of London, resented these privileges. They did not seek to prevent alien merchants from coming to England, because there was no one else able to take over the carrying trade by which they exchanged native produce for foreign wares. Foreign merchants, however, with the exception of the Hanse, were restricted to wholesale dealing with enfranchised traders, and were not allowed to trade among themselves or to have retail dealings with the body of English consumers.²¹ The English kings opposed any attempt to curtail the Hanse merchants, and increasing strife developed between the burgesses and aliens. As English trade expanded and English merchants grew more prosperous, ill will and jealousy against the Hanse merchants increased. They were accused of evading even the small import

¹⁶ *Register of Edward the Black Prince, 1346-1365* (4 vols., London, 1930), I, 23. A biography of Tidemann von Limberg is included in Hansen, "Englische Staatskredit," 402 ff. Grosch, "Geldgeschäfte hansischer Kaufleute," 156, 171, 271; *CPR, 1358-61*, p. 228.

¹⁷ The organizations of German merchants in Visby and London were the first to bear the name "Hansac." The evolution of the term "Hanse" is discussed by Renée Doehaerd, "À propos du mot 'hanse,'" *Revue du nord*, XXXIII (no. 129, 1951). See also Karl Koppmann's introduction to Volume I of *Die Recesse und andere Akten der Hansetage, von 1256-1430*, ed. Karl Koppmann (8 vols., Leipzig, 1870-97). Hereafter cited as *HR*.

¹⁸ *HR*, I, 372 ff. War was declared on February 5, 1368. *Codex Diplomaticus Lubecensis. Lübeckisches Urkundenbuch* (11 vols., Lübeck, 1843-77), III, no. 638, p. 684. Hereafter cited as *LUB*. For a discussion relative to the declaration of war see D. K. Bjork, "Peace of Stralsund, 1370," *Speculum*, VII (Oct., 1932), 457, fn. 1.

¹⁹ There is a list of ninety-six towns in "Nachrichten vom hansischen Geschichtsverein," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, I (1871), xxxi. See also *HR*, I, no. 413; *LUB*, viii, no. 437; Johann A. von Werdenhagen, *De Rebus publicis Hanseaticis Tractatus generalis* (2 vols., 4 pts., Leiden, 1631), II, pt. 4, chap. xxvi, 89.

²⁰ *CPR, 1358-61*, p. 228.

²¹ *Liber Albus*, ed. Riley, I, 493.

duties they had to pay and of obstructing English trade in the Baltic. Hence quarrels and complaints arose.²²

Relations between England and the Hanseatic League deteriorated rapidly in the second half of the fourteenth century when English merchants began to penetrate into areas that Germans had hitherto monopolized. By the end of the century the English formed a numerous and influential foreign colony in Danzig. Here they traded with the natives and foreigners, sold their goods both wholesale and retail, owned the houses in which they lived and the warehouses where they stored their goods, and organized themselves into a communal body.²³ As long as English commercial activity was confined largely to the export of wool, English merchants transacted their business without venturing any great distances, since the cloth-manufacturing centers were mainly in the Low Countries. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, however, English manufacturers, aided by low wages, an export tax on wool, and an influx of skilled Flemish clothworkers, began to produce large quantities of cloth, and English merchants, who acquired a large share of this export trade, began to venture forth in every direction to seek new markets.²⁴ It was not a propitious moment, unfortunately, to expand into Hanseatic territory. Internal and external changes threatened the very foundations of Hanseatic prosperity. Northern Europe's system of trade routes extended from Novgorod in the east to Bruges in the west and from the principal ports of Scandinavia in the north to the agricultural areas of Germany in the south. It was to their position on the trade routes that the German towns owed their prosperity. Several factors threatened the monopoly of the Hanseatic League in this area: the swiftly growing competition in the carrying trade from the Dutch and English in the Baltic, the increasing spirit of nationalism of the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, and the decline of the Flemish cloth industry, which was rapidly being overtaken by the English. Internally, a conflict of interests arose to weaken the harmony and cohesion that had kept the League together. As the towns of the Zuider Zee established direct contact by sea with the Baltic, Lübeck and its neighbors gradually lost their position of importance as carriers and traders and as the geographical link between the eastern and western sections of the great trade route. The Prussians availed themselves of the opportunity offered by the English and Dutch to ship their bulky goods to the west. As the German expansion

²² *Letter Book, H*, 53.

²³ *HR*, II, no. 169, par. 3; no. 236; no. 318, par. 3; nos. 402-406; V, nos. 547, 548, 643; *HUB*, IV, no. 888.

²⁴ H. L. Gray, "The Production and Exportation of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century," *English Historical Review*, XXXIX (Jan., 1924), 13-35; Schulz, "Die Hanse und England," 11.

to the east came to a close, the free trade era also ended, and the Wendish and Saxon towns turned their emphasis from international to local trade, with a growing tendency to exclude all outsiders from local markets.²⁵

The appearance of the English in the Baltic region at this inopportune time resulted in a long and bitter struggle with the Hanseatic League, and in the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries the English held the advantage. In the English towns only a few merchants engaged in the Baltic trade, but they received the support of the other anti-Hanseatic English merchants who were not only jealous of the special privileges that the Hanse enjoyed, but were anxious to exclude the foreigners and retain the new departments of trade that had developed during the previous century.²⁶ On the other hand, the lack of unity among the Hanse towns weakened German opposition. Cologne and the towns of the western district were very active in the English export trade and were not concerned with the dangers of English competition in Prussia. Danzig and the eastern towns wanted to keep the English out of the local markets, but they also hoped to continue their valuable commercial connections with England. Their indecision very frequently prevented them from taking any drastic action against their English competitors. Even Lübeck from time to time counseled moderation and made numerous concessions to the English. The Hanseatic League, divided within itself, was unable to organize a war or a successful blockade against England.²⁷

The anti-Hanseatic movement in England grew stronger as returning English merchants reported injustices inflicted on them in Prussia, Norway, Sweden, and other areas where the Hanseatic League monopolized trade.²⁸ Such grievances provided fuel for anti-Hanseatic agitation. Petitions were presented to the government urging enactment of measures to protect English merchants traveling abroad, and restriction on privileges of alien merchants in England unless English merchants received similar privileges in foreign ports.²⁹ Londoners demanded regulations to prohibit the Germans from dealing directly with other aliens, prevent them from engaging in retail trade, limit their stay in the country, and deny them the privileges of owning houses of their own.³⁰

²⁵ Walther Stein, "Die Hansestädte," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, XIX (no. 1, 1913), 233-94; XIX (no. 2, 1913), 519-60; XX (no. 1, 1914), 257-89; XXI (no. 1, 1915), 119-78; Fritz Rörig, "Aussenpolitische und innerpolitische Wandlungen in der Hanse nach dem Stralsunder Frieden," *Hansische Beiträge zur deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Breslau, 1928), 144-46, 149; *id.*, "Die Hanse und die nordischen Länder," *ibid.*, 162-65.

²⁶ *Letter Book*, H, 86.

²⁷ Rörig, "Die Hanse und die nordischen Länder," *Hansische Beiträge*, 162-65.

²⁸ *HR*, III, nos. 317, 318, 319; II, nos. 210, 211, 212; III, nos. 102, 103. *HUB*, IV, no. 600.

²⁹ *HR*, II, no. 212, par. 1.

³⁰ Walter Besant, *Medieval London* (10 vols., London, 1906), I, 80.

The English kings, on the whole, in the belief that the coming of aliens was good for the realm, withstood for many years the pressure of the townsmen to curtail the Hanseatic League's activities. The accession of weak kings in the late fourteenth century, however, permitted the townspeople to gain supremacy. Moreover, the merchants of London, steadily gaining both wealth and power since the middle of the fourteenth century, had improved their status and consolidated their position by acquiring royal charters. In a period when they attained a position to force their wishes upon the crown, the kings were dependent on parliamentary support and indebted to the city of London. The result was a restriction of the Hanseatic League's privileges.³¹

With the accession to the throne of the eleven-year-old Richard II in 1377, the antiforeign element gained the upper hand.³² Hardly had the London factory received the customary confirmation of its privileges from the new king, when Parliament forced it to return the document.³³ There were two reasons for this unprecedented action. The immediate occasion was the city of London's detailed list of complaints against the liberty allowed to foreigners. The Londoners charged that, contrary to the law, foreign merchants were living on premises hired for merchandise storage, were acting as brokers, and were doing retail as well as wholesale business. The specific cause of the complaints against the Hanse, however, was that the League did not allow English merchants to trade in German territory as freely as the Hanse traded in England under the royal charter of privileges.³⁴

A kind of anarchical state thus developed. "We don't know on the strength of which privileges you may send goods into this country," the Hanse merchants in London wrote to Lübeck.³⁵ Moreover, the new liberties and rights that London won in the Good Parliament of 1376, and from which only the Hanse had been exempted, were now to be applied to them also. In addition, the Hanse had to pay a considerably higher duty on the cloths and other goods that they exported. The government, however, agreed to accept security in lieu of the higher duties for the time being, perhaps an indication that they did not actually intend to abolish the privileges of the Hanse.³⁶

The League immediately asked the king and Parliament for the restitu-

³¹ HR, II, nos. 102, 210, 211, 212; Schulz, *Die Hanse und England*, 33-35; *Hanseakten aus England, 1275 bis 1412*, ed. Karl Kunze (Halle, 1891), doc. no. 327, pars. 1-2.

³² William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England* (3 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1800), II, 478.

³³ LUB, IV, no. 343.

³⁴ Petitions in Parliament (*Rotuli Parliamentorum, ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parlamento, 1278-1503* [6 vols. plus index, London, 1767-77]), II (1376-77), 367, item 33. Hereafter cited as RP.

³⁵ "Unde wy ouch nicht en weten, up wat vryheyt gy ofte de jive gud hir int lant sendin mogin. . . ." Apr. 10, 1378, HR, III, no. 103.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

tion of their privileges.³⁷ Parliament, however, dominated by the powerful antialien victualling guilds, refused to return their charter unless English merchants were given as much freedom to trade in the districts of the Hanse as the League enjoyed in England.³⁸

This demand for reciprocity eventually became the basis for all negotiations between the Hanse towns and England. It pleased not only the English merchants trading in Prussia and other Hanseatic areas, but also the London retailers, who found it a convenient formula to use when reciting their grievances against the Hanse.³⁹ On May 30, 1378, the General Assembly of the Hanseatic League met at Stralsund to discuss the problem of Hanseatic-English relationship. In letters to King Richard and to London, it asked for the return of former privileges and reimbursement for losses incurred on land and sea through actions of Richard's subjects. The letter ended with the reminder that if no compensation were made, the Hanse merchants would not trade with England.⁴⁰

The Hanse's letter to London was a triumph of diplomatic artfulness. Without stating that the city of London had instigated the trouble, it indicated that it knew very well who the real culprits were. In terms of exaggerated politeness the League then asked the mayor, council, and citizens of the city of London to request Richard to return its privileges.⁴¹ The subtlety, however, was wasted, for the Londoners replied in very formal language that the sagacity of the Hanse merchants should enable them to recognize the glory of the royal hierarchy and its sublime justice, and that they should not demand of his royal highness a return of privileges that had rightly been withdrawn. On the strength of complaints from all over England, Parliament had suspended the privileges of the Hanse merchants because of the frequent outrages done to Englishmen in Skåne and other Hanse regions as well as for the frequent and extreme abuses of their privileges, which impoverished the whole country. The Hanse could by no means deny or justify the charges. The English, moreover, were surprised at the Hanse's complaints, considering the very amiable treatment that had been given them. Nevertheless, they hoped that their old friendship would continue.⁴² Another letter from the Londoners to Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Winrich von Kniprode was almost literally the same, but lacked the glorification of Richard.⁴³

³⁷ N.d., *ibid.*

³⁸ *Letter Book, H*, 101.

³⁹ *HR*, II, no. 212.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, no. 156; General Assembly to King Richard II, May 30, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 159; no. 160.

⁴¹ General Assembly to Londoners, May 30, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 160.

⁴² Letter from London to merchants of German sea towns, Aug. 13, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 162.

⁴³ London's answer to Grand Master, Aug. 13, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 163.

These letters from London were accompanied by a letter from the German merchants in London reporting the delivery of the Hanse letters to London.⁴⁴

Richard's reply assured the League that the royal council was favorably inclined toward the Hanseatic merchants and would return their privileges to them. The council, however, told the Hanse that only Parliament could return their privileges, and it did not know when Parliament would convene again. It was clear that London was opposed to them as much as ever.⁴⁵

In October, 1378, Lübeck invited the other Hanse towns to meet with her and discuss the English situation. The League feared that the Prussian towns, which had become definitely protectionist and antiforeign, would take drastic action against the English. The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, who was the protector of the Prussian towns, had already threatened to arrest all the English merchants in his territory, and Lübeck feared that such action would result in severe reprisals against the Hanse merchants in England.⁴⁶

Because of other interests, none of the invited delegates appeared at the meeting scheduled for November 25, 1378. Lübeck again invited them, still more urgently, to a conference on March 13, 1379, or earlier, with the request to restrain the Grand Master from any attacks on the English. The Prussian cities replied that they had succeeded in delaying any action by the Grand Master against the English, but that because of bad roads, their campaign against the Lithuanians, and several other reasons, they preferred not to appear for a meeting until the next regular conference on St. John's Day, June 24. Lübeck then sent them a report from the London factory calling their attention to the great danger to which the lives and the property of the Hanse in England would be subjected if the Grand Master did anything to the Englishmen in his district.⁴⁷

On April 17 the Prussians met at Marienburg and instructed their envoy to the Hanse assembly to break off all negotiations with the English until the Hanse merchants received the restitution of their privileges. Outraged by the news from the Bruges factory that the English were guilty of several additional robberies and piracies, the Prussian towns reiterated that they would not permit any of their privileges in England to be curtailed in any respect.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ German merchants in London to General Assembly of Hanse towns, Aug. 13, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 164.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 170; General Assembly at Lübeck to Prussian towns, Oct. 9, 1378, *ibid.*, III, no. 113; General Assembly at Lübeck to Prussian towns, Nov. 25, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 116.

⁴⁷ N.d., *ibid.*, III, nos. 113, 116; Prussian towns to General Assembly, Jan. 16, 1379, *ibid.*, no. 118; General Assembly at Lübeck to Prussian towns, Feb. 8, 1379, *ibid.*, no. 120.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II, no. 174, pars. 6, 7, 15, 16, 17; III, no. 120; German merchants at Bruges to Prussian towns, Mar. 14, 1379, *ibid.*, no. 122.

After many delays, the Hanse towns met at Lübeck on June 24. The Prussian towns urged the League to take strong measures against the English, but the other cities, whose greater interests in the English trade made them more cautious, suggested moderate action. It was apparent that the Prussian towns did not see eye to eye with the rest of the Hanseatic League regarding trade with England. The trade between England and Prussia, a recent development, was largely carried on by the English, so that the Prussian towns were in the same position in relation to the English as London was to its German guests. Finally, Lübeck and the other cities may have felt that a procedure appropriate in dealing with the barbarians in the east and the despots of the north was quite unsuitable to the advanced culture of the west, especially to a country that possessed so highly developed a system for the administration of justice as did England.⁴⁹

The Hanse assembly decided to ask the English king and the royal council again for the return of the old privileges, the abolition of the new duties which had just been placed upon their commodities, and compensation for past damages. At the continued urging of the Prussian towns, the Hanseatic League concluded the letter with the threat that if the complaints were not considered within a year, nothing would be sold to the English in the cities east of the Sound after Shrove Tuesday, February 8, 1380. Also, nothing would be bought from them except what was needed to eat and drink, and after Easter, nothing at all. Only in Flanders could the English buy anything; even there nothing could be sold to them. No merchandise purchased from them could be brought to a Hanse city for the purpose of resale. If the Hanseatic merchants did not get a favorable reply to the letter, moreover, they would leave England and remain away until further notice. Wool might still be bought in Calais, but only with the "loss of honor and ten gold marks fine."⁵⁰ At the same time the governor in Helsingborg was told not to protect any Englishman or anyone not a Hanse member in Skåne against murder, homicide, theft, or robbery. Fortunately such extreme measures, which would have done a great deal of damage to both sides, did not become necessary.⁵¹

In the meantime the Steelyard was not idle. Because of the disturbances

⁴⁹ From General Assembly's archives at Lübeck, June 24, 1379, *ibid.*, II, no. 190. See also Theodor Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels-und Gewerbsgeschichte unter der Herrschaft des deutschen Ordens* (Leipzig, 1858), 99.

⁵⁰ League to Richard II, June 24, 1379, *HR* II, no. 190, par. 7. The staple for English wool was located in Calais. The entire wool trade, including the collection and administration of the custom and subsidy on wool, was regulated at this emporium. Georg Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters* . . . (2 vols., Leipzig, 1881), I, 351.

⁵¹ *HR*, II, no. 190; report of Hanseatic envoys, *ibid.*, II, no. 210, pars. 1, 11.

in London, the Parliament met at Gloucester in the fall of 1378, remote from London's influence. Here the Hanse merchants, referred to this session of Parliament by the royal council, asked for the return of their charter of privileges, or at least for an answer concerning their request.⁵² This Parliament decided that the foreigners were too useful to the kingdom to be deprived of all their liberties. As a result, almost all the previous restrictions were removed, and the Hanse merchants given permission to move about anywhere in the country for an unlimited period. Foreign merchants were also granted privileges of wholesale trade in wine, linen, cloth, and canvas; retail trade in these goods was to be reserved for local merchants. The Hanse merchants, however, were permitted to do retail as well as wholesale business in the buying and selling of grain, meat, fish, fruit, furs, and dry goods. London was explicitly warned not to interfere with or hinder the activities of the merchants on pain of severe punishment by municipal authorities. Under these new regulations, however, the Hanse did not regain all of its former privileges and monopolies. Their old charter of privileges would be returned to the German merchants, Parliament said, only if English merchants were permitted to visit all the Hanse markets and allowed to come, go, act, and stay as they pleased, without disturbance or hindrance of any kind, and that the Hanse should assist them in every way possible and see that no harm came to them in Prussia, Denmark, Norway, or any other area in which the Hanse traded.⁵³

From these records we learn that the English government was not willing to sacrifice the general economic welfare of the country to the special interests of a few large cities such as London, and that the greatest advantage for the country lay in as unlimited a trade as possible, and in the favorable treatment of the foreigners. On the other hand the English government stressed a point important to the Londoners: that the foreigners were to be kept strictly to the letter of their privileges and that the English must be given as much freedom to trade in Hanse districts as the League enjoyed in England. This was the policy of reciprocity that continued to dominate the relations between the Hanse cities and England. For the first time in the history of trade between England and the Hanse, the commercial monopoly at home and the English penetration abroad were accepted as complementary parts of the same program. The members of the London Steelyard reported to Lübeck February 8, 1379, that Parliament had put the new regulations into effect. They also transmitted a list of four requests from the English merchants for consideration by the Hanse: to allow the English to trade in Hanse regions

⁵² *RP*, III, 32, 33, 35, 52, par. 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 47, par. 74; 52, par. 6; *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 6; III, 52, par. 6.

as freely as the Hanse traded in England under the royal charter of privileges, to give the English similar rights in Skåne, to relieve the English of collective responsibility, and to specify the names of the towns composing the Hanse confederacy. The Hanse refused to accede to these demands, and the old charter of privileges remained suspended.⁵⁴

Archbishop Simon Sudbury of Canterbury, who was to become chancellor in 1380, assured the Hanse in a friendly letter that if the German merchants would allow the English merchants to enjoy their old privileges in the German provinces, he would recommend to the English king that the Hanse merchants should have their old privileges restored in England.⁵⁵ The matter came up for consideration by the League in November, 1379. At the request of the London Steelyard, the League sent two envoys to London from Flanders, demanding the restoration of the ancient rights. The two men, Councilor Jakob Pleskow of Lübeck and Councilor Johann Cordelitz of Thorn, left Bruges on November 11 and arrived at Calais three days later. Here the governor, the Earl of Salisbury, received them cordially. Because of a heavy wind, they could not sail from Calais until November 18, and only arrived in London on November 21. They went to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and on November 25 presented their requests. The next day they talked with the mayor and aldermen. As might have been expected, these men only made excuses when asked to help the envoys to obtain a restoration of the old charter.⁵⁶ They said that they had many complaints against the Hanse about which they must consult others. The messengers suggested that this could be done privately without involving the government, but as the English contended that they could not finish presenting their complaints within the previously set time limit of eight days, the envoys turned to the most influential men of the council, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earls of Northumberland, Stafford, and Suffolk, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester, Bath, and Exeter, and the Chancellor, Sir Richard Le Scrope.⁵⁷ The ensuing negotiations occupied many days. Part of the discussion was carried on with the royal council, and part, as the royal council was very busy, with a committee of four men taken from the council. The committee from the council received advice from the London merchants, while the Hanse envoys consulted with the merchants of the Steelyard. The envoys answered the specific complaints of the English as best they could, and again asked for the return of their privileges. If the English had been

⁵⁴ Demands of the English merchants, *HR*, II, no. 212. For reasons, see no. 174, par. 6, Apr. 17, 1379.

⁵⁵ Oct. 9, 1379, *ibid.*, II, nos. 210, 211.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 210, pars. 2, 3, 4.

⁵⁷ Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, II, 458.

ill treated, the Hanse envoys said, they would bring the matter before the next Hanse assembly and would assist the English in getting back their rights and privileges. The complaints of the Hanse merchants in England should be handled in the same manner. The Hanse towns wished only to renew the peace and friendship that had existed between them in previous times. The common advantages from the trade ought to be evaluated by everyone concerned, and common talk by those who would like to have the Hanse merchants permanently expelled from England ought to be discouraged. If, however, the English did not consider the trade with the Hanse advantageous to them, or if the German merchants were no longer welcome in England, despite the fact that the Hanse cities had always given friendly treatment to the English, then English merchants would not be welcome in the Hanse provinces. They ought to consider whether this was to their advantage or not.⁵⁸

This ultimatum seemed to make a definite impression. The royal council assured the envoys of its sympathy, but asked them to wait until the next Parliament, three weeks after Christmas, at which time they would receive a definite answer. As the envoys said they could not wait, the council suggested that they add a supplementary article to their charter, according to which the English would be treated in a friendly manner in the Hanse regions, particularly in Skåne and Norway, and would be allowed to trade with the Hanse towns without hindrance, according to the ancient customs of both countries. The charter would not be valid unless the Hanse approved the supplementary article. The messengers, of course, had no authorization to grant such important concessions, but they assured the English that they would bring the matter before the next Hanse assembly, which would probably meet on June 24. Besides, they said, the English were already more free in the Hanse towns without privileges than the League merchants were in England with all their privileges, for which they paid about fourteen hundred pounds per annum, as the copies of their letters could prove. If the English wanted to travel to the German provinces as much as the Germans did to England, then the Hanse would probably grant them the same rights for a corresponding amount of money.⁵⁹

The English, however, did not consider this satisfactory, because they had not asked for anything more than they had previously possessed, according to the old custom. Besides, they criticized the Hanse towns only for their actions in Norway and Skåne.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ HR, II, no. 210, especially pars. 5, 10, 11; report of Hanseatic envoys, n.d., *ibid.*, no. 192; *ibid.*, no. 210.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 210, pars. 11, 12, 13, 14.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, par. 14.

The parties separated after the English promised to intercede for the Hanse in Parliament for ratification of Hanse privileges and compensation for damages, a list of which the envoys registered. On their part, the English asked the Hanse towns for the same service regarding the supplementary article that they had requested, and, on December 23, the two envoys returned to Bruges.⁶¹ On September 23, 1380, Archbishop Simon Sudbury of Canterbury, who had succeeded Sir Richard Le Scrope as chancellor in January, 1380, returned the former charter to the Hanse merchants in the presence of the treasurer Bishop Thomas Brantingham of Exeter and other influential men,⁶² but only on the condition that the English merchants would be treated as fairly in the districts of the Hanse as the Germans were treated in England. Otherwise, the privileges would be forfeited forever.⁶³

Half a year had elapsed between the close of Parliament, March 3, 1380, and the return of the charter of privileges to the German merchants.⁶⁴ Neither the cause of the delay nor the immediate occasion for the final return of the privileges is known. The two envoys from Lübeck and Thorn had presented their case in a dignified and persuasive manner that overcame all the major obstacles to a settlement. The gentlemen with whom they had to negotiate were sympathetic to the Hanse, but they desired on one hand to secure for their countrymen all the advantages possible, and on the other, and above all, to settle the quarrel with the Hanse in order to promote the true welfare of both parties. The envoys of the Hanseatic League acted as representatives of a power with equal rights, and the English admired their calm and firm conduct.

Thus King Richard II's government confirmed the Hanse's charter of privileges, but only after the Hanse had formally recognized the rights of Englishmen to trade in its territories. By this act English merchants, supported by the English government, succeeded in penetrating into areas hitherto monopolized by the Hanseatic League. The monopoly of the Hanse had been broken by restricting Hanseatic rights in England, and a program of reciprocity had been instituted between the Hanseatic League and English merchants. Thus, once again, comparative peace reigned between the Hanse towns and England.

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⁶¹ *Ibid.*, par. 15; no. 192, par. 9.

⁶² Archbishop Simon Sudbury was killed by rioters on June 14, 1381. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, II, 498.

⁶³ Parliament to German merchants concerning the return of privileges confirmed Nov. 6, 1377, and terms connected with it, Sept. 23, 1381, *HR*, II, no. 225.

⁶⁴ Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, II, 487. Parliament met from January 16 to March 3, 1380.

Canada and the Siberian Intervention, 1918-1919*

GADDIS SMITH

RECENT scholarship has not yet mentioned a major factor in the tangled history of the intervention in Siberia at the end of World War I:¹ the participation of Canada as an intervening nation.

Canadian intervention, involving four thousand troops and a special economic mission, represents the initial episode in Canada's struggle for complete control of her foreign policy after World War I. As such it illustrates the changing relationships within the British Empire more realistically than the scores of constitutional documents that the Commonwealth statesmen self-consciously drafted between 1917 and 1931. The story also deserves to be told as a subsidiary but essential part of intervention as a whole, and as an example of the interplay of Canada, the United States, and Great Britain—the famous “North Atlantic Triangle”—at work in an unaccustomed quarter of the globe.

Canada's part in the Siberian intervention began in June, 1918, at a moment when the British government was exasperated by months of unavailing efforts to get the United States to approve a scheme of intervention as a means of bringing military pressure against Germany. To every entreaty President Woodrow Wilson had returned a rigid negative, basing his refusals on distrust of Japan, the only power with troops available for intervention in force. Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden of Canada knew about the thickening stalemate over intervention when he arrived in London, June 8, 1918, to attend the Imperial War Cabinet. What he did not know was that the British War Office, impatient over President Wilson's unshakeable attitude, was looking everywhere for enough troops to begin independent British in-

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¹ Four recent works have treated different aspects of the intervention. John Albert White, *The Siberian Intervention* (Princeton, N. J., 1950) is an ambitious survey of the whole subject. Betty Miller Unterberger, *America's Siberian Expedition, 1918-1920: A Study of National Policy* (Durham, N. C., 1956) examines with precision the sinuosities of American policy. James William Morley, *The Japanese Thrust into Siberia, 1918* (New York, 1957) makes excellent use of recently available Japanese sources. George F. Kennan, *The Decision to Intervene* (Princeton, N. J., 1958), the second volume in his admirable study of *Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920*, deals with events up to the arrival of troops in Siberia.

tervention. Not a man could be spared from the western front; in the Far East only a single regiment at Hong Kong was immediately available. Perhaps, reasoned the War Office, Canada might be willing to send troops directly from British Columbia across the Pacific to Siberia.

The idea had possibilities. The first step was to convince Sir Robert Borden of the necessity for intervention. Accordingly, on June 11 Leopold S. Amery, Borden's close friend and a member of the Secretary of War's personal staff, sent the Prime Minister a long memorandum by General Alfred Knox, former British military attaché in Petrograd, who was highly regarded as the British government's foremost Russian authority. Without immediate intervention, said Knox, the war would be lost:

Intervention from the Far East is our only chance of closing to the Central Powers in 1919 the material resources of Asia, and of bringing to bear against them a part of the enormous allied man power of that continent. It is our only chance of winning this war and of preventing another disastrous war in the near future.²

The same day on which Borden received the memorandum from General Knox he attended a meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet and heard British Prime Minister Lloyd George survey the war situation in terms of black despair. The possibility of complete defeat in France had to be considered, the latter stated, with the British Empire and the United States left standing alone, as England had been left in the days of Napoleon. Full attention, therefore, must be turned to beginning intervention in Russia as the one means, should disaster strike, of carrying on the war. But the attitude of the United States was still blocking action.³

In the days that followed, the members of the Imperial War Cabinet sat with worried brows while the diplomatic efforts to get President Wilson to change his mind continued and the inclination of the War Office to act independently was restrained. During the same month Sir Robert Borden was actively and bitterly criticizing British military leadership on the western front and blaming the blunders of British generals for the success of the German March offensive and for needless sacrifice of life, including the lives of thousands of Canadians. Borden's outspoken criticism provided Lloyd George with the opening he wanted for his own long-standing feud with the army "brass": the opportunity to set up the special Prime Ministers' Committee on War Policy, consisting of himself and all the Dominion premiers.⁴

² Memorandum by Knox, June 7, 1918, enclosed in Amery to Borden, June 11, 1918, Sir Robert Borden Papers, OC 515, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³ Transcript of June 11, 1918, meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet, box 333, *ibid.*

⁴ *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs*, ed. Henry Borden (2 vols., Toronto, 1938), II, 809-15.

This Committee met in almost daily session and reached conclusions that vividly underline the pessimistic assumptions on which the plans for Siberian intervention were based. Disagreeing with the British General Staff, the Committee wrote into its report:

Rather than run the risk of failure to reach a decision on the Western front in 1919, with its disastrous results on the *moral* [*sic*] of the British and French, and perhaps even of the American Armies, the Committee would prefer to postpone an attempt until 1920.⁵

By the end of June, 1918, there was still no encouraging word from President Wilson. With Winston Churchill insisting that the time had arrived to act without the Americans, the Imperial War Cabinet decided to make one final appeal. A statement setting forth in full the reasons for intervention was prepared. Lloyd George brought the Cabinet's statement to the Supreme War Council on July 2 and the Council reworked it in the form of a long plea for Wilson's approval "before it was too late."⁶

Simultaneously it appeared that a crisis was building in Siberia. On June 29 Vladivostok had been seized by a portion of the Czechoslovak Legion then skirmishing across Russia against the Bolsheviks but reportedly in imminent danger of being annihilated by hordes of German and Austrian former prisoners of war. Here was the final and decisive excuse for beginning intervention without American cooperation: the Czechs needed help. During the first week in July the War Office acted. The regiment in Hong Kong was ordered aboard ship for Vladivostok and the Canadian government was formally asked to supply a contingent. On the heels of these British preparations came the startling and unexpected news that the imagined plight of the Czechs had also moved President Wilson and Secretary of State Robert Lansing, and that on July 6 they had decided on a joint United States-Japanese intervention. Great Britain had not been consulted and had no place in American plans. This was irritating in the extreme, but there was nothing to do but proceed with the plans for getting the Canadian troops to Siberia as quickly as possible.⁷

⁵ Report of the Committee of Prime Ministers on War Policy, August 15, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 628. Although this final report was not prepared until August, the Committee's important work was done in June.

⁶ Minutes of June, 1918, meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet, *passim*, Borden Papers, box 333; David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs* (6 vols., Boston, 1933-37), VI, 178.

⁷ George Kennan believes that the American decision for intervention prompted the British to act. "Thus the effect of Washington's unilateral action," he writes, "was not to keep the British out of Siberia but to propel them at once into that complicated situation. . . ." *The Decision to Intervene*, 408. Considerable evidence suggests that this interpretation is incorrect. The British government did not learn of the American decision until July 10, when a cable dispatched by Ambassador Lord Reading late on July 9 was received in London. In reply to Reading, Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour cabled: "We ourselves were so sensible to the immediate necessity of aiding the Czechs that before receiving your message, we had . . . given orders

If the War Office hoped that the dispatch of Canadian troops would be a simple matter of request made, approved, carried out, the War Office was to be disappointed. Immediately the Canadian government refused to play a subordinate part and began to ask questions. This proved to be a long process, for nearly half the Canadian cabinet at the moment was in London, the rest in Ottawa.⁸

Sir Robert Borden personally approved the idea of a Canadian expedition, but felt obliged to consult his cabinet colleagues before giving an answer. First to be consulted was General S. C. Mewburn, Minister of Militia and Defence, who brought up several questions that needed answering: Exactly what duties would the Canadians be expected to perform? Under whose control would the force finally come? How would the troops be recruited? The last question was especially pertinent, considering the explosive nature of the conscription issue in Canada at the time.⁹ While Borden discussed these problems the War Office grew impatient. Maladroitly it attempted to go over Borden's head with a direct cable to the Governor-General in Canada in order to get the expedition under way. Borden was furious. "No reply shall be sent to the British Government's message except through me," he cabled in anger.¹⁰

At this point a greater problem appeared: the United States and Great Britain were pursuing different, even contradictory, Siberian policies. While the British urged Canada to participate in a vast strategic scheme to re-establish the eastern front and spoke of the need to defend India,¹¹ the United States condemned military intervention with uncompromising Wil-

for relieving the Czechs [*sic*] garrison at Vladivostok with such British as were available." Balfour to Reading, July 10, 1918, Sir William Wiseman Papers, folder 91, Yale University Library. Further evidence is found in the fact that General Tom Bridges, head of the British Military Mission to the United States, traveled to Ottawa during the first week in July in order to make arrangements for the Canadian contribution to the intervention. General P. deB. Radcliffe to Newton W. Rowell, July 9, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 518.

⁸ The situation was complicated by another War Office request, issued July 12—this one for a full infantry battalion to be used in northern Russia. The Canadian government flatly refused this request on the grounds that no infantry could be spared from the Canadian corps in France. (Letters and memoranda on this decision are in the Borden Papers, OC 518.) Canada did, however, approve War Office requests to send small groups of volunteer officers and noncommissioned officers to northern Russia as instructors, and in August sent an artillery brigade of 497 men to that theater. Leonid I. Strakhovsky, "The Canadian Artillery Brigade in North Russia, 1918-1919," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXIX (June, 1958), 125-46. The present article deals only with the Siberian intervention because it alone commanded the full and anxious attention of the Canadian government. The operations in northern Russia went comparatively unnoticed by the Canadian government and press.

⁹ Mewburn to Borden, July 12; Mewburn to General W. G. Gwatkin, July 12, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 518.

¹⁰ Borden to Acting Prime Minister Sir Thomas White, July 25, 1918, *ibid.*

¹¹ The best of many expositions of British motives is the General Staff memorandum dated June 19, 1918, entitled "Allied Intervention in Russia," Canadian Expeditionary Force, Siberia, Records, folder 17, S 2. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

sonian prose. Said the famous *aide-mémoire* addressed to the Allied ambassadors in Washington on July 17, 1918:

It is the clear and fixed judgment of the Government of the United States . . . that military intervention . . . would add to the present sad confusion in Russia rather than cure it . . . and that it would be of no advantage in the prosecution of our main design, to win the war against Germany. It can not, therefore, take part in such intervention or sanction it in principle.¹²

The United States was acting solely to safeguard the Czechs. By implication all other motives were nefarious.

By early August, 1918, the lack of understanding between the United States and Great Britain had become for several key members of the Canadian cabinet the dominant factor in the Siberian situation. There were almost no limits to the possible difficulties. Different policies could lead to friction; where would that leave Canada? Conceivably Canada might be forced to violate the basic principle of her external policy: friendship and co-operation with the United States as well as with Great Britain. Furthermore, what of Japan? Conflict between the Japanese and Americans in Siberia was not unlikely. Canadian public opinion would surely demand that the Canadian expeditionary force align itself with the Americans. But Great Britain, bound by the Anglo-Japanese alliance and traditionally more friendly than either the United States or Canada toward Japan, might demand Canadian neutrality. Was not the best course for Canada to stay out of Siberia altogether? Newton W. Rowell, president of the Privy Council, distilled all these uncertainties into a cable to Borden in London. The exact relationship of the Canadian expedition to the American and Japanese forces, said Rowell, must be defined and made public.¹³ No definition was ever offered from London, but it is worth noting that in the months that followed the cabinet in Ottawa acted in agreement with American declared policy and not with the views of the British War and Foreign Offices.

Borden had no answer to these objections. Undeniably potential difficulties existed, but a peculiarly Canadian factor in itself justified sending a force to Siberia—economic interest. As Borden expressed it:

Intimate relations with that rapidly developing country will be of great advantage to Canada in the future. Other nations will make very vigorous and determined efforts to obtain a foothold and our interposition with a small military force would tend to bring Canada into favourable notice by the strongest elements in that great community.¹⁴

¹² United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918, Russia* (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1931-32), II, 287-90.

¹³ Rowell to Borden, Aug. 9, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 518.

¹⁴ Borden to Mewburn, Aug. 13, 1918, *ibid.*

By thus invoking the vision of future Siberian trade Borden was playing a theme popular in Canadian industrial circles since the beginning of the war.¹⁵ Since 1914 the government, too, had discussed from time to time various ways of acquiring advantages in Siberia for Canadian exporters, and in 1915 had sent two trade commissioners to Russia.

During the summer of 1918, while the cabinet hesitated, it was the chief Canadian trade commissioner, Conradin F. Just—recently returned from Russia—who expounded most vividly the great Siberian dream. In a note to Sir George Foster, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Just wrote:

The Americans we may suppose will make the most of this opportunity, and one would think that we might find a way to have at least a small share of such advantages. . . . I think I see here a possible opportunity for the participation of the Government in association with leading financial institutions on behalf of Canadian trade interests.¹⁶

Soon Just had worked out a full program for Canadian economic penetration of Siberia. In a detailed report he observed that geographically Canada and Siberia were similar, a popular cliché in Canada at the time. What an opportunity, therefore, for the application of Canadian skills and experience in transportation, large-scale agriculture, fishing, mining, forestry! What enormous potential markets for Canadian railroad equipment, river and coastal steamers, canning machinery, tractors, combines, flour mills, grain elevators, dairy equipment! What a chance to undertake "the exploitation of Siberian forests under Canadian direction and with Canadian appliances and machinery!"¹⁷ Just advocated the dispatch of a special Canadian economic mission—which was soon done—and in addition described how every officer and NCO in the Canadian expeditionary force could be given special instructions on how to search out and report "new markets for Canadian manufacturers."¹⁸

Time proved that the dreams of Prime Minister Borden and the Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce were fantastic, but in the summer of 1918 the belief that an economic rainbow arched across the Pacific to Siberia was strong enough to overcome or override all political and military objections to a Canadian expedition. The definite decision to go ahead was made in mid-August, and Brigadier General J. H. Elmsley was named commander.

¹⁵ The great Canadian opportunity in Siberia was a favorite subject for articles and editorials in *Industrial Canada*, the monthly journal of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. In the year 1915, for example, the subject was discussed in the January, April, August, September, and December issues.

¹⁶ Just to Foster, no date; probably early Aug., 1918, Sir George Foster Papers, subject file 73, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁷ Economic Mission to Siberia, memorandum by Just, Aug. 29, 1918, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Siberian Trade, memorandum by Just, Oct. 9, 1918, *ibid.*

There followed a sharp controversy with the War Office over who was to be in ultimate control of the Canadian troops: the Canadian government or the War Office. When the Canadian government said in effect, "No control, no troops," the War Office capitulated. Ottawa had control and the War Office salvaged the right to issue "orders" which did not have to be obeyed.¹⁹

At last General Elmsley and the first Canadian troops sailed for Vladivostok, where they arrived October 27, 1918. Now for the first time the Canadian government had its own independent, direct source of political and military information from Siberia. Two weeks later the signing of the Armistice in Europe completely destroyed the original military justification for intervention. Coming together, these two events brought consternation to the Ottawa cabinet.

General Elmsley's reports were consistently disconcerting. Siberia was a chaotic mass of intrigue and suspicion. The Americans and Japanese were particularly hostile toward each other. "And the Russians as a whole appear to be indifferent to their country's needs, so long as they can keep their women, have their vodka, and play cards all night until daylight."²⁰ But Elmsley's greatest troubles were with General Knox, who had arrived before him from London as head of the British Military Mission. Knox, zealous for a major campaign against the Bolsheviks, despised the Americans and said that the sooner they were excluded from all consideration the better; he placed little emphasis on the need for protecting the Czechs and proclaimed instead that "every British soldier is as much a factor of trade and Empire as Clive's men were."²¹ Such views—bellicose, imperialistic, militantly anti-Bolshevik, anti-American—were not designed to convince the doubtful within the Canadian cabinet that the dispatch of the expedition had been a wise move, economic arguments or not.

A running cablegram argument ensued between Borden, now back in London for the British preliminaries to the Paris Peace Conference, and the cabinet in Ottawa. Sir Thomas White, the acting prime minister, opened by cabling that the cabinet wanted the troops to be brought back. Borden said this could not be done; he appealed once more to "the economic considerations," which, he stated, were "manifest." If the troops were withdrawn, the special five-man economic commission under the exuberant C. F. Just would

¹⁹ The purport of the voluminous correspondence on this issue of control is summed up in a cable from Mewburn to the War Office, with amendments by Borden, Sept. 11, 1918. Borden Papers, OC 518.

²⁰ Elmsley to Mewburn, Nov. 2, 1918, Newton W. Rowell Papers, folder 71, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²¹ Knox to War Office, Nov. 4, 1918; Knox to British consul at Irkutsk, Nov. 5, 1918, copies in "Elmsley Secret File," Canadian Expeditionary Force, Siberia, Records, folder 17:2.

be left dangling in Siberia or "would have to be recalled to our possible detriment in the future."²² To this White and the cabinet cabled back: "Canada has no such economic or business interest as will justify the employment of a Canadian force composed of young men whose parents and friends desire should return at once to their ordinary occupations."²³ Borden also suggested that Canada's honor was at stake. Great Britain was counting on Canada. To back out now would be a breach of faith and a serious blow "to Canada's present position and prestige." This argument was received with skepticism.²⁴

If Borden would not change his mind the cabinet in Ottawa could at least place restraints on the use of the Canadian troops in Siberia. This was done by cabling the War Office that the Canadian force would not be allowed to engage in military operations and could not leave Vladivostok for "up country" without the express consent of Ottawa.²⁵ Under these orders the Canadian troops did no fighting and never budged from their base while in Siberia.

The Canadian government also asked for a clear statement of policy from the British government. "It has been constantly asserted by His Majesty's Government," came the reply, "that it is for the Russians to choose their own form of Government and that His Majesty's Government have no desire to intervene in the domestic affairs of Russia."²⁶ This at least was encouraging news, and Rowell quickly drafted an official declaration designed to calm public uneasiness and to counter the strong impression that intervention had an anti-Bolshevik purpose. As a matter of courtesy the British government was asked if it could be quoted. "No," came the answer. "The Russian Soviet Government would be considerably encouraged thereby."²⁷ Now was confusion twice compounded. It was impossible to suppress the strong suspicion that the British were after all bent on using intervention against the Bolsheviks. Rowell's draft for a public declaration was tucked away in the files and never issued. The cabinet returned to its demands that the troops be withdrawn.

In Siberia, meanwhile, General Elmsley was having more trouble with General Knox of the British Military Mission. Elmsley, agreeing fully with

²² White to Borden and Borden to White, Nov. 20, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 518; also Borden to White, Nov. 20, 1918, *Borden Memoirs*, II, 869.

²³ White to Borden, Nov. 25, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 518.

²⁴ Borden to White, Nov. 24, 1918; White to Thomas A. Crerar (Minister of Agriculture) and Crerar to White, Nov. 28, 1918, *ibid.*

²⁵ Canadian General Staff to War Office, Dec. 22, 1918, *ibid.*

²⁶ Colonial Secretary to the Governor-General, conveying statement of Foreign Secretary Balfour, Dec. 12, 1918, Rowell Papers, folder 71.

²⁷ Colonial Secretary to the Governor-General, Jan. 13, 1919, *ibid.*

the American commander General William S. Graves, considered it folly to fight Bolshevism with force of arms.²⁸ But Knox preached war and lamented that the Canadian and British troops had not begun to fight their way to Moscow.²⁹ Where Elmsley insisted on the importance of working with the United States, Knox called Americans "eye-sores."³⁰ Worst of all, Knox was openly contemptuous of Ottawa and the views of the Canadian government and had a disquieting habit of acting behind Elmsley's back. So strongly did General Elmsley feel that he cabled his views directly to the War Office in London. "The past has shown," he wrote, "that neither you nor the French can take an unduly prominent part in Russia's affairs without danger of having the brand Imperialism placed upon your actions, and thereby giving our home Bolsheviks material for . . . initiating industrial unrest. . . . Adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards America, Japan, and Canada. Modern nations can be led but not driven."³¹ Later, when there was a threat of serious conflict between the Americans and the Japanese, Elmsley informed the War Office that his officers and men were in sympathy with the Americans and probably would not stay neutral in any clash between the Americans and the Japanese.³² For this the War Office rebuked Elmsley, told him that the Americans were the only discordant element, and warned him to move his troops away from the scene of any possible friction and thus avoid trouble.³³

It was against such a background of uneasy tension in Siberia that Sir Robert Borden broke the long impasse which had existed between himself and the cabinet in Ottawa. His earlier dreams of economic glory in Siberia had not survived the nightmare of Siberia as it actually was. Thus the decisive motive for the Canadian expedition no longer existed. As the opening of the Paris Peace Conference approached, moreover, Borden had been thinking carefully about Canadian external policy, particularly about Canada's relationship to the United States as a coparticipant in a new era of world affairs, and had reached an important conclusion that he announced to the Imperial War Cabinet on December 30, 1918: If the future policy of the British Empire meant working with some other nation against the United States, that policy would not have the approval of Canada. This declaration was directly linked with the Siberian situation. Continuing, Borden made a specific recommendation for a new departure in Russian policy. It was sense-

²⁸ This rapport is described from the American point of view by William S. Graves, *America's Siberian Adventure, 1918-1920* (New York, 1931), 82-84.

²⁹ Knox to Elmsley, Nov. 27, 1918, CEF, Siberia, Records, folder 17:2.

³⁰ Knox to War Office, Nov. 24, 1918, *ibid.*

³¹ Elmsley to Radcliffe, Jan. 19, 1919, Canadian Expeditionary Force, Siberia, Records, folder 17:1.

³² Elmsley to War Office, Mar. 18, 1919, *ibid.*

³³ War Office to Elmsley, Mar. 27, 1919, *ibid.*

less, he said, to keep troops in Russia. The thing to do "was to induce the Governments of the various States in Russia to send representatives to Paris for a conference with the Allied and associate nations. These could then bring pressure, if necessary, upon them to restrain them and control aggression, and to bring about conditions of stable government."³⁴

Borden's unrealistic suggestion was based on an imperfect knowledge of conditions in Russia, but it seemed a good way out of an uncomfortable spot not only for Canada but for the greater powers. Lloyd George welcomed it eagerly and on January 3, 1919, made it the basis of a formal proposal to the United States, France, Italy, and Japan.³⁵ At the Paris Peace Conference the proposal was modified and emerged as the famous abortive scheme for a conference with all Russian factions to be held February 15, 1919, on Prinkipo Island in the Sea of Marmora.³⁶ Lloyd George called on Borden to be the chief British delegate at Prinkipo,³⁷ but the conference, of course, was never held. Borden, however, acted in the spirit of his proposal by informing Lloyd George that the Canadian troops would be withdrawn as soon as possible.³⁸ Lloyd George, who by this time was strongly opposed to continued intervention, approved of Borden's decision and said it would have considerable effect on British policy in regard to Russia.³⁹

Winston Churchill, then Secretary of War, tried vigorously to argue Borden into keeping the Canadian troops in Siberia, but Borden would not reconsider.⁴⁰ As soon as the grip of winter departed from Vladivostok harbor the first of the four thousand Canadian troops embarked for the trip back to Canada; by June 5, 1919, the last had departed.⁴¹ By the autumn of 1919 the British contingent of approximately two thousand, having lost the possibility of Canadian support and without hope of reinforcements, was also withdrawn.⁴² The last of the American forces left on April 1, 1920.⁴³ Siberia was left to the Russians and to Japan, whose troops lingered on until 1925, when

³⁴ Minutes of Imperial War Cabinet, Dec. 30, 1918, Borden Papers, box 333.

³⁵ United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919, Russia* (Washington, D. C., 1937), 2-3.

³⁶ United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations, 1919, The Paris Peace Conference* (13 vols., Washington, D. C., 1942-47), III, 676-77.

³⁷ *Borden Memoirs*, II, 904.

³⁸ Statement by Lloyd George at meeting of the Council of Ten, Jan. 21, 1919, *The Paris Peace Conference*, III, 666.

³⁹ Philip Kerr (Lloyd George's private secretary) to Borden, Feb. 16, 1919, Borden Papers, OC 518.

⁴⁰ Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the British Empire Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, Feb. 17, 1919, Foster Papers, folder 143; Churchill to Borden, Mar. 17, 1919, Borden Papers, OC 518.

⁴¹ Canadian Expeditionary Force, Siberia, Records, HQ War Diary, drawer D-89.

⁴² Winston S. Churchill, *The Aftermath* (New York, 1929), 256.

⁴³ Unterberger, *America's Siberian Expedition*, 183.

the last Japanese soldier left the northern half of Sakhalin Island.⁴⁴ Thus ended intervention.

At first glance the story of Canada's part in the Siberian intervention seems annoyingly inconclusive. Like the larger history of intervention, it reads like a chronicle of indecision and human folly. But from the confusion certain conclusions may be drawn.

The policy of the Canadian government restrained British action in Siberia. If the Canadian troops had not been restricted to Vladivostok and instead had been subject without qualification to the British War Office and amenable to the wishes of General Knox, intervention in Siberia might well have taken a different turn. The Canadians might have become involved in serious fighting against the Bolsheviks. In that event it is worth considering what the American contingent would have done, how the Japanese would have acted, and what repercussions would have developed in Canada.

If General Elmsley had shared Knox's and the War Office's distrust of Americans, friction between the United States and Great Britain would have been more acute than it was—possibly with serious injury to British-American relations. To say that Canada in Siberia was acting the linchpin or interpreter between the United States and Great Britain is to overstate the case, for the American government was blind to the fact that Canada was following a separate policy. Great Britain had no desire to display the disconcerting independence of the senior Dominion member; and the Canadian government, lacking separate diplomatic representation in Washington, had no easy means of making Canada's position clear. The subsurface interplay of the three "North Atlantic Triangle" nations, nevertheless, was a factor in the Siberian intervention. By responding to her own interests Canada acted as a buffer between the United States and Great Britain. In so doing, she presented an unmistakable North American point of view to the British government and restrained the impetuosity of the War Office.

For its own sake Canada's experience in Siberia is an excellent illustration of the process by which events compelled Canada to assume control of her own foreign relations. While the Canadian government grappled with the problem of Siberia it was not distracted by the theoretical debate over Canada's legal and constitutional right to have a foreign policy. There was no time to decide whether or not Canada possessed separate international status or to wring hands over the difficulty of conducting foreign affairs without a foreign service. Nor did the Canadian government pause to note how its actions contradicted the fashionable platitude of the time about the

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 203.

nations of the British Empire speaking with one voice on foreign policy. An immediate problem called for solution. Purely Canadian decisions had to be weighed in the making of policy: Canada's relations with the United States, the uneasy attitude of both Canada and the United States toward Japan, the necessity of keeping Canadian control over Canadian troops, and—not to be forgotten—the mirage of economic opportunity that beckoned and then vanished. In such circumstances policy could not be left in the hands of the British Foreign and War Offices.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Pragmatism as a Theory of Historical
Knowledge: John Dewey on the
Nature of Historical Inquiry

BURLEIGH TAYLOR WILKINS

WITHIN American academic circles pragmatism is passé. Lecture halls that once reverberated with words such as "experimentalism" and "experience" are now filled with "essence" and "existence." Perhaps we are all the wiser for it, because no one would want to hear the same words forever, not even "essence" and "existence." Historians, however, have a duty to treat the past with an understanding that tries to be more profound than fashionable, and when American historians speak of pragmatism they should not overlook the fact that they are at once referring to the *only* major American contribution to Western thought and to a philosophy that has informed the spirit and presuppositions of modern American historiography. The late R. G. Collingwood melodramatically accused empiricists of participating in a "conspiracy of silence" where the problem of historical knowledge is concerned; no such accusation could be made against the pragmatists. Also, both George Herbert Mead and John Dewey were historians of a sort and even the highly abstract Charles S. Peirce was concerned with the historical or social fixation of belief and habit.

It may be argued, as does the author of this essay in a forthcoming study of Carl Becker, that pragmatism is indeed the philosophy of some of the key American historians in the first half of the twentieth century. If this be so, the reflections on historical method of John Dewey, the cardinal pragmatist of our century, clearly assume a wider significance than their intrinsic quality might suggest. We sorely need, at this moment in the history of pragmatism, a study of how Dewey actually wrote about the history of philosophy, as

well as of how Dewey's "sense of history" affected his philosophizing¹ and how he influenced thinkers in other disciplines, especially in history. Historians in particular need, I venture, a study that proceeds as if Dewey were, until quite recently, American historiography in microcosm and that discusses critically yet sympathetically Dewey's treatment of historical inquiry in his *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, especially the chapter, "Judgment as Spatial-Temporal Determination: Narration-Description."² This is the object of the present essay.

The author of this essay has learned most about the limitations of pragmatism as a theory of knowledge from the writings of G. E. Moore and Bertrand Russell, but most professional philosophers and historians seem to be convinced that pragmatism has fallen between the opposing schools of idealism and empiricism without satisfying the objections of either where epistemology is concerned. In escaping from the orderly universe of Hegel into William James's dissonant multiverse, Dewey had lost his reliance upon the "absolute" or the "idea" without ever losing his Hegelian-inspired distrust of "brute fact." He was constantly torn between the two opposing tendencies of idealism and empiricism,³ torn but not destroyed because in his "pragmatism," "experimentalism," "cultural naturalism," and "instrumentalism" he made a valiant effort to overcome the dualism between mind and nature, the observer and the observed, subjectivity and objectivity—in short, to present us with "unified wholes." Had he succeeded he would have been the American Aristotle or Aquinas.

One thing Dewey believed in was the unity of science, and behind this there lay a unity of logic. Therefore much of what he had to say in his *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* about the historian's tasks was taken, *mutatis mutandis*, from his over-all picture of man thinking. Dewey thought of historical inquiry, like all logical inquiry, in terms of its use-value, of the fruitful consequences that might come from it. "Intelligent understanding of past history," he wrote, "is to some extent a lever for moving the present into a certain kind of future." He was, therefore, concerned with the social sources and consequences of historical study, and we know that he shared this concern with the key figures in American historiography in the twentieth century: Frederick Jackson Turner, James Harvey Robinson, Charles A.

¹ George Boas found only twenty items in the imposing bibliography of Dewey's writings that might be called historical; but, according to Boas, Dewey's "Whole orientation is in a sense historical." George Boas, "Instrumentalism and the Philosophy of History," *John Dewey: Philosopher of Science and Freedom*, ed. Sidney Hook (New York, 1950), 87.

² John Dewey, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* (New York, 1938).

³ See Burleigh Taylor Wilkins, "James, Dewey, and Hegelian Idealism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVII (June, 1956), 332-46.

Beard, and Carl Becker. But whereas several of these "pragmatic" historians were deeply interested in the question of whether historical inquiry is a science, Dewey refused to allow himself to become engrossed in this problem. "The question," he believed, "is not so much whether or not history in the large is a science, or even whether or not it is capable of becoming a science. It is whether the procedures employed by historians are precluded from having scientific quality."⁴ While Dewey shared with the "historical relativists" Beard and Becker a concern with the cultural conditions that influence the historian's judgments, we must remember that he believed all scientific inquiries to be influenced by the culture in which they occur. Unlike Beard and Becker, Dewey did not believe that such cultural influences detract from the scientific status of historical study, and he continued to repeat the charge that historical study lags behind study in the physical sciences, a charge that would have no meaning if he regarded these disciplines as significantly dissimilar.

Although Dewey differed from Beard and Becker on the question of the relationship between history and natural science, his basic definition of historical study could have been written by either of these historians. "Historical inquiry," Dewey maintained, "is an affair (1) of selection and arrangement and (2) is controlled by the dominant problems and conceptions of the period in which it is written." The first part of this definition is concerned with the procedures of the historian; the second asserts that these procedures are in the last analysis "controlled" by factors which, as we shall see, need have no logical status at all. Proof that the historian in his studies of past ages is controlled by the culture in which he lives is to be found, according to Dewey, in the nature of the selecting processes he employs: "If the fact of selection is acknowledged to be primary and basic, we are committed to the conclusion that all history is necessarily written from the standpoint of the present, and is, in an inescapable sense, the history not only of the present but of that which is contemporaneously judged to be important in the present."⁵

If this be true, Dewey has closed the door to any effective distinction between the findings of the historian and the reasons that lie behind his interest in any historical problem. That this is so became clear as he developed the implications of his variety of "presentism." Historical inquiry, as described by Dewey, commences when the historian begins his search for "relevant" facts. Criteria for selecting and arranging these facts must be

⁴ Dewey, *Logic*, 239, 438.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 230, 236.

formed, lest the historian become bogged down in a morass of irrelevant data. Once assembled, these facts serve as material for "inferential" constructions about the past; hypotheses are essential for such constructions. "Ideas, meanings, as hypotheses are as necessary to the construction of historical determinations as they are in any physical inquiry that leads to a definite conclusion," according to Dewey. Historical facts clearly do not speak for themselves; and furthermore, Dewey believed, "The notion that historical inquiry simply reinstates the events as they 'actually happened' is incredibly naïve."⁶ Such a notion, Dewey conceded, is still a valuable warning against bias and subjectivity; and later we shall explore the possibility that as such it is also a valuable warning against Dewey's own reasoning about historical inquiry.

History, according to Dewey, could never be restricted to events that happened in the past; rather the principle of continuity links it to the present and the future. Also, "Where the past has left no trace or vestige of any sort that endures into the present its history is irrecoverable."⁷ In his emphasis upon the role of the present in historical inquiry, Dewey would have no difficulty in convincing us of the truism that our historical knowledge depends upon evidence that has survived from the past into the present. Nor would he have any trouble in proving that as man moves through time he looks at the past from many different points of view, or that he employs first one hypothesis and then another in his interpretation of what has gone on before. But it is clear that Dewey's "present" means much more than that in our studies of the past; it is, as Becker used to say, not only that the present is the product of all the past but that the past is the product of all of the present.⁸

The past is the product of all the present because, according to Dewey, "There is no material available for leading principles [or hypotheses] save that of the historic present. . . . At a given time, certain conceptions are so uppermost in the culture of a particular period that their application in constructing the events of the past seems to be justified by facts found in a ready-made past. This view puts the cart before the horse."⁹ This passage

⁶ *Ibid.*, 233, 236.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁸ In his discussion of judgments of recollection, Dewey briefly noted, "Some present state of affairs is always the occasion of the reconstruction of the past event. But as a mere occasion, it has no logical standing." *Ibid.*, 224. This, if it means anything, suggests a distinction between the reasons why we undertake to study the past and the nature of these studies. Unfortunately, Dewey did not develop this line of reasoning, and this modest estimate of the importance of the present lies buried under a welter of argument designed to prove both the logical and existential necessity involved in "present occasions" for historical inquiries.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 233.

from Dewey is a nearly perfect expression of historical relativism—as the culture goes, so goes the historian. I submit that the total effect of this quotation is most depressing. There is a disturbing resemblance between Dewey's reasoning and that theory of knowledge which holds that when I make a statement about *x*, I am not really talking about *x*, only of my reactions to *x*—when I talk about the past, I am in fact talking only about present-day impressions that need not correspond to past reality.

If it be protested that this is not the theory of knowledge held by Dewey, I quite agree; but I insist that it is the position to which Dewey's argument reduces itself in this instance. If it be claimed that there was a note of dissatisfaction in Dewey's voice when he spoke of a "ready-made past," I also agree, but I do believe that the above quotation from Dewey is both descriptive and normative. It is descriptive in that Dewey did see the decidedly temporary nature of histories written around currently popular hypotheses, but it is also normative because these histories satisfy Dewey's conviction that present hypotheses are the ideational horses that should lead the factual carts. If Dewey appears to have sensed the circular nature of his relativism, so much the better; but that does not excuse its being circular.

Dewey has ignored the distinction between academic and romantic history, or, to put it differently, he has ignored the progress of historical scholarship and the increasing accuracy of historical judgments. Such judgments or hypotheses, if they are correct, can remain intact in the midst of contemporary passions and can be transferred from one culture to another without significant alteration. Romantic histories—for example, histories written with a national or class bias—may fit into Dewey's picture of historical study; but he has overlooked the steady growth of academic history which, although influenced and even stimulated by contemporary nonacademic pressures, managed, for example, to see through the Enlightenment's contempt for the Dark Ages, and which is today resisting T. S. Eliot's overly unitary conception of the Middle Ages. It may be that behind every judgment of fact there lies a judgment of value. But is not the disinterested love of truth a value as well, perhaps an eternal one that survives from culture to culture?

Although Dewey recognized that history is a word with two meanings—that which happened in the past, and our intellectual reconstruction of past happenings—this had no more effect upon his reasoning than his admission of a distinction between "facts" and our "ideational" handling of them. Actually what happened is identical in both cases—facts are subsumed under ideas—the past is buried under a welter of fashionable contemporary

interpretations of it. Small wonder then that academic history is a lost cause in Dewey's thought.

It could in fact be argued that all history is a lost cause by Dewey's logic, that his emphasis upon the utility of historical knowledge is betrayed by a line of reasoning that makes history useless. In Dewey's hands the principle of continuity tends to rule out any effective distinction between past, present, and future. It is, of course, a truism that time plays tricks upon us, that today becomes yesterday while tomorrow becomes today in such a bewildering succession that the almighty present depicted by Dewey becomes a "specious present" in both the practical and philosophical sense. Historical analysis, however, is futile unless we make abstractions from the total picture and pinpoint certain problems or periods for scrutiny, and Dewey in his emphasis upon selection and arrangement knew this well.

He failed, however, to provide us with criteria for legitimate acts of selection or abstraction, although all science depends ultimately upon such acts. In keeping with this deficiency, he also failed to distinguish adequately between indeterminate historical questions that we hope to transform into determinate historical answers and a determinate series of past events which remain fixed and determinate however historians interpret them. Here he betrayed a weakness common to all pragmatists, who are seldom disturbed by the question of whether inquiry is discovery or transformation. Dewey, however, had it both ways in his discussion of selection. Selection, he thought, is necessary if we wish to discover what actually happened; but it is also arbitrary, since Dewey's old Hegelian, holistic picture of life always made him doubt the legitimacy of any act of selection.¹⁰ Once you have selected something for study, you have torn the fabric of life. And whether you like it or not you have, according to Dewey, already transformed whatever it is that you are examining.

Dewey writes, "There is no event which ever happened that was merely dynastic, merely scientific or merely technological. As soon as the event takes its place as an incident in a particular history, an act of judgment has loosened it from the total complex of which it was a part, and has given it a place in a new context, the context and the place both being determinations made in inquiry, not native properties of original existence." From this Dewey concluded: "Nowhere is it easier to find a more striking instance of the principle that new forms accrue to existential material when and because it is subjected to inquiry."¹¹

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, 241.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 236.

Since no written history has yet approached the apparently formless state of Dorothy Richardson's novel *Pilgrimage*¹² with its almost painful fidelity to the world of actual experience, there is much truth in Dewey's judgment that the form we give to events in our written histories does not express their original position in the historical flux. We wonder, however, whether any historian has literally desired to re-create past events exactly in their original position. To tell what actually happened does not mean to tell all that happened; "the whole truth" is a dull, gray ghost that has haunted historians too long. Historical inquiry is discovery, and it is also intelligent commentary. Sometimes the historian is a detective, as R. G. Collingwood believed; sometimes he is a hanging judge, as Lord Acton hoped; sometimes he is a confessor who listens with sympathy; sometimes he gives absolution for terrible deeds; sometimes he is a scientist who arranges deeds, good, bad, or indifferent, into patterns of development. But surely he never does what Dewey thought. If "the context and the place" of the events we include in our narratives were only, as Dewey indicated, "determinations made in inquiry, not properties of original existence," then I fail to see that history can fulfill any function, except for those who delight in playing tricks upon the dead.

Dewey has argued that written history depends upon selection, upon some form of abstraction, and has then suggested that such abstraction must be false to our experience continuum. Probably Dewey in his desire to see history as useful felt impatient with the procedures and conclusions of highly selective monographic history; universal history in the grand manner of Hegel would perhaps have been more in accord with his taste. Friends of Dewey have argued that he wished only to make historians more conscious of their presuppositions, more aware of what selection involves and therefore less prone to error. Yet it is difficult to see how Dewey's achievement accords with the positive aspects of this intention; it is as if he had achieved too much, if what he says about selection be true. Dewey did accuse Marxists of writing bad history by virtue of prejudging the past in terms of class conflict. In fact, however, if his reasoning were correct, he has shown that all historians necessarily prejudice the past in one way or another. Dewey's emphasis upon the social conditioning that determines how the historian will interpret the past, his belief in the all-important role of hypothesis in historical construction, his stress upon the arbitrary nature of selection, his failure to explain how it is possible even to speak of error in historical study

¹² London, 1916.

—what are these in effect but alibis for the historian who wishes to prejudge, or misjudge, the past?

Dewey asked but did not answer the question: "Upon what grounds are some judgments more entitled to be accepted than are certain other judgments?"¹³ The question was left, apparently, for those who are interested in the sociology of knowledge; and the historian was left in effect with the tedious business of endless, circular explorations of currently popular hypotheses. At this point questions of science give way to questions of myth. If what Dewey called "intelligent understanding of the past," as distinct from dreams, illusions, or hallucinations about the past, is to be a useful lever for moving the present into "a certain kind of future," then we must know why some histories are true, or truer than others. If we cannot say what is true or false in our judgments about the past, then we are at the mercy of myth-makers. If we believe in liberal democracy, then the "myths" endorsed by Dewey, Beard, and Becker can cause us little harm and some comfort. But not all mythology is so gentle, and where do we draw the line? Pragmatism does not tell us, nor does it tell us how to escape from being the victims of our own myths. For example, what if we believe, metaphorically, that we are riding a wave of history when the tide is actually running against us?

At the minimum, therefore, Dewey's reflections on historical inquiry call to mind, ominously, Charles S. Peirce's well-known suggestion, made some six decades earlier, that for the ideas of truth and falsity we substitute belief and doubt.¹⁴ Psychology would take the place of logic and the sociology of knowledge would supplant history, if Dewey's thought were developed to its logical consequences. Nor does it require much imagination to see that psychology and sociology would soon encounter the same pitfalls as history, that they too would become the slave of present-day prejudice. Surely it is a great paradox that Dewey, the ardent champion of social science, provided us with a logic that makes the verification of historical or social science concepts so suspect in our eyes. A great paradox could become something of a tragedy, especially for those of us who sympathize with Dewey's basic assumptions. These basic assumptions, the author believes, are that history should be useful, that it should be regarded as an ally rather than a foe of social science, and that, most important of all, its findings should admit of logical, objective verification or rejection. The remainder of this paper will suggest how these assumptions might be reenforced by a logic different from Dewey's.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 230.

¹⁴ Charles S. Peirce, "Pragmaticism," *Collected Papers*, ed. Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), V, par. 414-16.

Dewey's assumption that historical knowledge ought to be useful need not arouse any undue aesthetic indignation. A moment's reflection will show further that historical knowledge is already useful. Consider our understanding of the anatomy of revolution or of the movement of the business cycle, for example: what is this but useful historical knowledge—even if we do not always use it? In point of fact, history is generally regarded as a discipline of varying degrees of utility, even by those who do not go beyond Benedetto Croce's essay of 1893, "History Subsumed under the Concept of Art."¹⁵ The postulated utility of historical inquiry ranges from the Croce-Collingwood idea of history as self-knowledge to the more activist conceptions of Marx and to a lesser extent of Dewey. This diversity of opinion as to the use-value of history may, or course, stem from an even wider diversity of circumstances, but it is most clearly revealed by what we mean when we say that history is a science. Whenever someone like Collingwood speaks of history as a science, he is using the word "science" in the pre-Baconian sense. Science is little more than a synonym for knowledge; and in such a view, history is restricted to what has gone on before. On the other hand, we find philosophers who think of science mainly in terms of its predictive possibilities, as being knowledge of the future on the basis of past experience or experiment. Such philosophers have considerable reverence for the natural scientist because of his success in this regard, and they constantly urge the historian to pay closer attention to the findings and procedures of the natural scientist.

Dewey clearly belonged to the latter school of thought, and it was for this reason, I believe, that he failed to realize the many points of similarity between his *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* and Croce's earlier *Logic* of 1909.¹⁶ With Croce, Dewey believed that facts do not speak for themselves, that the general must somehow be revealed in the particular, that history is either part of the present or that it cannot exist. But Dewey did not share Croce's contempt for "practical" history, and he was too much attracted by positivism to give up altogether the kind of dreams entertained by Comte and Henry Adams. Whereas Croce had resolved the fact-idea duality for the historian by showing, with considerable success, that historical facts are really ideas that, because of their rational form, can be rethought by successive generations of imaginative, rational beings, Dewey tried to resolve the duality by recourse to the presumably universal methods of natural science. For him

¹⁵ Benedetto Croce, *La Storia ridotta sotto il concetto generale dell'Arte*. Reprinted in *Primi Saggi* (Bari, 1919), I, vii-72.

¹⁶ *Id.*, *Logic as the Science of the Pure Concept* (London, 1917).

historical facts had no "inside"; he seemed to think that they could be selected or arranged as blandly as the biologist selects or arranges his fauna. If historical facts were to be understood at all, Croce and Dewey agreed, it would be because of something the historian brought with him to his studies. With Croce this something was imagination or sympathy, but with Dewey it was scientific logic or the ability to arrange particulars as instances of generalities or hypotheses.

Dewey had learned, possibly from Peirce, the importance of the observer's position in scientific measurement. The historian's position as he studied the history of society was, clearly, a social position. Since the historian can live only in the present, no matter where he may spend his working hours, his social position is controlled by the society in which he lives; here he finds his tools, his hypotheses and principles of selection—*ergo*, "cultural naturalism." But, if this be so, how do we know which of two conflicting positions, two different sets of tools, both existing contemporaneously in the same society, to rely upon? Dewey cannot tell us, for in his hands historical inquiry has lost its integrity, despite his intentions to the contrary.

To save both historians and their "facts" from being explained away by arguments drawn from Dewey's *Logic*, it would seem that two steps are necessary. First, it must be admitted that idealists of the Croce-Collingwood school have a better understanding of the historian's mind and of his data than have those who rely overmuch upon analogies from natural science, although the understanding of material must not be confused with the mastery of the epistemological problems arising from it. Second, this understanding must somehow be reconciled with the empiricist tradition in order to furnish us with that "objectivity" Dewey so earnestly desired. This means that historical facts must be recognized as ideas that have survived from the past, and that as such they are different in structure from the facts of the natural scientist. When enough of these ideas fall into a pattern, however, we can then extend the Croce-Collingwood position to the point where it will allow us to formulate generalizations or even "laws" about patterns of development of the kind employed successfully every day in social science—provided we bear in mind that these are laws of thought, not laws of nature, and that thinkers can alter their future course consciously in a way that the laws of nature cannot be altered.

By laws of thought, we have in mind in this connection not the laws of logic or mathematics but the kind of "necessity" that we sometimes find in a succession of synthetic, empirical propositions. This necessity is hard to formalize, but statements about man's experiences often reveal a logic of im-

plication, not the strict implication to be found in analytic or tautological statements, but the kind of implication that enables us to guess intelligently as to what ideas or events are most likely to come next. Sometimes ideas or events seize upon us and our imagination with such force that we feel compelled to follow them wherever they may lead; and this is what phrases such as "ultimate consequences," "*reductio ad absurdum*," and "following that line of reasoning" sometimes mean. After we have followed for a time, we may, of course, choose to dig in our heels and to countervail against the initial attraction. Were Dewey alive, he might at this point say that his critic, too, had been influenced by Hegel. His critic could reply that the dialectic is one of the most important ways of thinking about the history of thought. The laws of thought, however, may be dialectical, they may proceed in a more straightforward, orderly progression, or they may halt abruptly before a total negation; but, as Hegel understood, to say that there is law in human affairs does not necessarily negate the ideas of freedom or choice. In fact, law may be their very fulfillment.

Once it is realized that historical facts have an "inside" as well as an "outside," it might be that to avoid Dewey's overemphasis upon hypotheses and principles of selection, we should give recognition to Collingwood's simple question and answer procedure, his Socratic attempt to know the unknown.¹⁷ Even so, we have no guarantee that we have rethought the ideas of past generations in their original relations—we can, of course, have no such guarantee until after the attempt has been made—but we should be assured beforehand that self-deception need not necessarily be the fruit of our labors. By stressing the deficiencies of the notion that facts speak for themselves, idealists and pragmatists have done much to show the importance of the ways in which the historian makes facts "speak" and of the historian's presuppositions. Therefore, let us make a presupposition of our own, by assuming, until there is adequate evidence to the contrary, that we have no presupposition so strong as to blind us to the hopes and fears of the past. Let us also begin by assuming—and keeping—a distinction between those ideas of the past that we can recover from our present evidence, and the context and the relationships in which these ideas were initially thought. While William James may have been correct in saying that the relationships among the items of experience are as real as the items in themselves, the relationships remain infinitely harder to recover; and it is this task that should tantalize the historian, even to such an extent that his imagination and sympathy

¹⁷ R. G. Collingwood, *An Autobiography* (Oxford, 1939), 28-43; *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946), 269-74, 278-82.

might cautiously take up where the documents leave off. We hasten to add, however, that imagination and sympathy do not give us license to build prefabricated houses upon any historical lot we may choose.

While we have accepted the fact that the historian's facts are ideas, which accounts for their being sometimes intelligible to intelligent men, it is clear that, by Dewey's revelation, we are sinners. We are dualists; and as such, we are fond of distinctions between the past and the present, as well as between the reasons behind a historian's studies and the results of these studies. We are at this point in our argument especially fond of the distinctions between judgments of fact and judgments of value, and between *esse* and *esse percipi*.¹⁸ Briefly, our distinction between fact and value requires us to distinguish between the "is" and the "ought" of every story. Although we do judge the value of an idea recovered from the past in terms of its relevance to a question we have asked, this is quite different from saying that the idea is therefore true or good in some metahistorical sense. Indeed, many of the ideas handled by historians relate mainly to what were matters of immediate expediency for past generations; the question of their ultimate value is irrelevant for both past and present. Our distinction between *esse* and *esse percipi* requires us to distinguish between ideas as they once were and as we think them, between the ideas in their original integrity and as we understand them. Too much foolishness has been committed in the name of the "present" and of the past's dependence upon it, and this foolishness is bound to cause mischief if ever it be taken literally. The correspondence theory of truth with its distinction between the observed and the observer remains a sound theory of truth, provided we acknowledge that the nature of the observed and of the observer is different in history from what it is in the natural sciences.

By preserving all of the perhaps tedious and certainly old-fashioned distinctions we have defended, we can make sound, empirical provisions for the detection of error which some idealists have dismissed too easily as an inadequate comprehension of the "whole." We can leave room for imagination, too, as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself, and for pragmatic history, which works because it is true and for no other reason. Also, we can avoid the collective solipsism of Dewey's "present" and in our minds we can sometimes take refuge in the past. A step backward is often necessary if we hope eventually to continue forward, as mice in mazes, and men, too, have learned. Progressives and the heirs of pragmatism in general must some-

¹⁸ For the classic defense of the second of these distinctions see G. E. Moore, "The Refutation of Idealism," *Philosophical Studies* (London, 1922), 1-30.

day know the profound truth of Lord Acton's statement: "For history must be our deliverer not only from the undue influence of other times, but from the undue influence of our own, from the tyranny of environment and the pressure of the air we breathe."¹⁹

Finally, in order to find some solace or comfort for those who weary of a seemingly endless succession of questions about "what is history" let us apply to history what J. S. Mill once wrote concerning the nature of moral science: "It is true that similar confusion and uncertainty, and in some cases similiar discordance, exist respecting the first principles of all the sciences, not excepting that which is deemed the most certain of them, mathematics, without much impairing, generally indeed without impairing at all, the trustworthiness of those sciences."²⁰

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¹⁹ John Dalberg Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History* (London, 1952), 33.

²⁰ John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism*, in John Plamenatz, *The English Utilitarians* (Oxford, 1949), 163.

The United States and the Geneva Protocol of 1924: "A New Holy Alliance"?

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DURING the decade following 1920 the relations of Latin America with the League of Nations were a source of worry and concern to the American government. In particular, the Department of State feared Latin American efforts to use the League as a countervailing force against United States policy in the Western Hemisphere. The Department was immoderately hostile, consequently, to any League participation in hemisphere affairs; it even forced the exclusion of League observers from the Pan-American Conferences of 1923 and 1928. The American posture was, in fact, only one facet of a general policy: to have nothing to do with the League in political matters. For its part, the League generally reacted to United States policy with restraint and caution and only became active in Latin America during the 1930's, when Washington eventually welcomed League efforts to settle the Leticia and Chaco disputes.¹

In the 1920's, however, the League's interest in disarmament led it inadvertently to take a step that American officials regarded as a serious threat to the isolation of the Western Hemisphere from the League, and thus in turn a threat to the unique position of the United States in the area. This step was the drafting of the Geneva Protocol of 1924, a treaty viewed by official circles in Washington as an unfriendly European concert. Indeed, Secretaries of State Charles Evans Hughes and Frank B. Kellogg both regarded the Protocol as a potential "new Holy Alliance." Hoping to strengthen those elements in Europe that opposed it, therefore, the secretaries manifested their opposition to the treaty. The American position had considerable influence on the failure of the Protocol; some commentators have argued that the United States was mainly responsible for its demise. The European powers directly concerned sought to fill the resulting vacuum with the Locarno agreements. The United

¹ Warren H. Kelchner, *Latin American Relations with the League of Nations* (Boston, 1930), 11-15. Allen W. Dulles, *Analysis of Certain Activities of the League of Nations*, Nov. 7, 1925, Record Group 59, State Decimal Files, 1910-29, 500C/388½, National Archives. Hereafter cited as NADF with file and document numbers. By 1924 all the Latin American states except Ecuador, Peru, and Mexico had joined the League, but not all were active. For the American policy on the relations between the League and the Pan-American conferences see Francis White to Charles Evans Hughes, July 28, 1925, *ibid.*, 710.11/878.

States saw in these not a threat but a positive gain for European peace and so supported them, although in an indecisive and indirect manner.

The Geneva Protocol was the most important of the many attempts to strengthen the constitutional structure of the League in order to establish an international security as a basis for disarmament. Advocates of the Protocol believed that Articles XII and XV of the Covenant seriously limited the League's power to prevent war. Article XII permitted war three months after the Council had failed to reach a unanimous decision in a dispute, while Article XV exempted domestic questions from League jurisdiction. The Protocol filled these two "gaps" in the Covenant. It provided for compulsory arbitration of disputes that the League Council could not settle and it extended the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court by requiring the submission to that body of alleged domestic disputes. If, however, the Court adjudged the dispute to be domestic in nature, the League lost jurisdiction, although the good offices of the Council or the Assembly were not foreclosed. This provision, known as the "Japanese amendment" because that country sponsored it at Geneva, freed the way for League conciliation of domestic issues. A nation that had signed the Protocol but refused in a dispute to abide by these provisions of the Protocol was, *ipso facto*, judged the aggressor. And this nation was then automatically subject to the League's sanctions. The Protocol undertook to solve in this manner the thorny task of defining aggression.²

The Protocol first attracted the attention of Secretary Hughes because of a provision that after its ratification a disarmament conference would be held. Any conference of this type had potent political appeal in the United States. Speaking in Cincinnati during the 1924 presidential campaign, Hughes referred in passing to American willingness to cooperate in disarmament.³ When the League Secretariat, encouraged by this remark, informally inquired if the United States would accept an invitation to the Protocol disarmament conference, Hughes answered that his position would depend entirely upon the relationship between the Protocol and the conference. At the same time, he confidentially informed Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew and the consul in Bern, Hugh Gibson, that the Protocol's inclusion of "domestic questions" was the great obstacle to American participation in such a conference. Although not defining what he meant by "domestic questions,"

² The Protocol (full title, Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes) is contained in Walter C. Langsam, *Documents and Readings in the History of Europe since 1919* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1951), 205-15. The basic studies of the Protocol are Philip J. Noel-Baker, *The Geneva Protocol* (London, 1925) and David H. Miller, *The Geneva Protocol* (New York, 1925).

³ *New York Times*, Oct. 4, 1924.

Hughes undoubtedly had Japanese exclusion in mind. The Immigration Act of 1924 abrogated the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908, and according to press reports it was against this law that the Japanese amendments to the Protocol were directed.⁴ Hughes also believed that only if the conference did not discuss the Protocol and only if the resulting agreement was not entrusted to the League for enforcement could the United States consider attending. In other words, disarmament under League auspices was unacceptable.⁵ The problem of "domestic questions" faded into relative insignificance and the appeal of a disarmament conference evaporated altogether when Hughes began to believe that the arbitration provisions of the Protocol were dangerous to the United States. This belief resulted in large part from soundings of certain European statesmen.

Of crucial importance in this regard were the views of Foreign Minister Eduard Beneš of Czechoslovakia, one of the chief architects of the Protocol. In response to the questions of Frederick F. A. Pearson, American chargé d'affaires ad interim in Prague, Beneš explained in November, 1924, that the Protocol would preclude the United States from acting against a Latin American country under the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine. Drawing upon his philosophy of collective security, Beneš thought that the Corollary might be protected through Council intervention in defense of American interests. This concept of the League acting as a fiduciary the American representative believed unacceptable; in the last analysis, the Corollary, no less than the Doctrine itself, was a unilateral policy.⁶ To the question of what impact the Protocol, if it had been in force at the time, would have had on President Woodrow Wilson's military intervention in Mexican affairs, Beneš had a striking answer. If the United States had not first appealed to the Council, Mexico could have obtained the support of League sanctions. Beneš offered other solutions for American objections to the Protocol. He suggested that the League be federalized by the creation of regional organizations for the Western Hemisphere, for Asia, and for Europe. He also pointed out that the approaching election in Great Britain might result in amend-

⁴ Hugh Gibson to Hughes, Oct. 10; memorandum of the Secretary of State, Oct. 11; Gibson to Hughes, Oct. 16, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/222; Philip C. Jessup, *International Security, the American Role in Collective Action for Peace* (New York, 1935), 33-34. In a speech made at Indianapolis on October 14, Hughes strongly attacked the Protocol because of its provisions for "domestic questions."

⁵ Hughes to Gibson, Nov. 8, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/228. Consistent with Hughes's attitude on disarmament was his policy on the related question of arms traffic control. Although in 1924 the United States participated in the work of the Temporary Mixed Commission on the problem, Hughes dropped the matter when it became involved with the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (2 vols., New York, 1951), II, 436-37.

⁶ Pearson referred to American policy as the Monroe Doctrine, but it is clear from the context that he actually meant the Corollary.

ments to the Protocol. Pearson wrote to Hughes that one of the amendments "ought to pertain to naval action in contravention of the Monroe Doctrine." The Protocol as it then stood, he meant, would permit the League to employ the British navy in Latin American waters.⁷

Shortly after receiving Pearson's report, Hughes sought advice on the legal aspects of the Protocol. Since obviously the United States would not ratify, the problem was how the country would be affected as a nonmember. The ruling section of the Protocol was Article XVI. This provided that a nonsignatory state should be invited to accept the conditions of the Protocol in case of conflict with a signatory. But if the state so invited refused to accept the Protocol conditions and resorted to war against a signatory state, the League could apply sanctions against it. In substance, the Protocol did not claim more extensive jurisdiction over nonmembers than did the Covenant. Once, however, the nonsignatory had submitted to the Protocol, it found itself faced with a more absolute determination of the dispute. For what the Protocol did provide in place of the combination of conciliation and arbitration contained in the Covenant was arbitration alone except in those cases involving domestic questions.⁸

From the legal point of view, the compulsory arbitration of the Protocol coupled with the inclusion of nonsignatories could be seen as dangerous to the United States. And, in fact, this was the opinion of Charles C. Hyde, the solicitor of the Department of State. He believed that, consequently, the Protocol would threaten the Caribbean protectorates and the rights of the United States as a neutral. The United States should therefore kill the treaty and propose another arbitration plan that would protect the Monroe Doctrine.⁹

⁷ Pearson to Hughes, Nov. 1; Hughes to Pearson, Dec. 3, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/242. Pearson's remarks were supposedly unofficial, but Hughes commended him for them. Beneš vigorously disagreed with the thesis that the Japanese amendments were directed against the United States. He took the view that the Protocol was an improvement over the terms of the Covenant since it assured the United States of League support in a conflict with Japan, for obviously the League Council would declare Japanese exclusion a domestic question. In December Beneš admitted to the American ambassador, Lewis Einstein, that "the thinly spread application of the Protocol principles throughout the world is of very slight concern . . . and . . . he felt but little interest in the hypothesis of a Chilean aggression against Bolivia or confidence in assistance coming to Czechoslovakia if attacked, from remote quarters of the world." He also said that the Protocol's objective was to protect the "lesser" European states as a basis for European confederation. Since this purpose was not inconsistent with England's foreign policy, she would sign after acceptance of amendments protecting her fleet. This emphasis upon the European nature of the Protocol contradicted the statements made by Beneš to Pearson in November. Einstein to Hughes, Dec. 31, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/268.

⁸ Manley O. Hudson, *What the Protocol Does*, VII, no. 7, pt. 1 of *World Peace Foundation Pamphlets* (Boston, 1924), 439.

⁹ Nov. 20, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/246½. Hyde did examine at some length the implications for the United States if it ratified the Protocol, but the evidence indicates that ratification was never seriously considered.

Henry P. Fletcher, a lawyer and then ambassador to Italy, generally concurred in this judgment.¹⁰

Although the Protocol was drafted by the Assembly of the League, the Council was assigned the responsibility of calling a disarmament conference after a sufficient number of powers had approved the Protocol.¹¹ On November 19, 1924, a confidential Foreign Office source revealed to the American government that the British would request a delay in Council action in order to study the Protocol and to consult the Dominions.¹² Ambassador Fletcher, home from Italy for the presidential election, expressed the feelings of Hughes when he wrote to Ambassador Kellogg in London that news of the British move "was a matter of great relief and pleasure."¹³ After returning to his post, Fletcher met with British Foreign Minister Sir Austen Chamberlain in Rome for the Council meeting on December 10, even though the postponement of action had ended the pressure for American initiative. To Fletcher's remark that the United States would gladly reveal its opinion of the Protocol, Chamberlain responded that he would be "intensely interested in knowing the American position before coming to any conclusion."¹⁴

Ambassador Fletcher also talked to Aristide Briand, visiting Rome as French representative on the Council. Briand asked if the United States would join the League. Perhaps, as Fletcher believed, Briand had been confused by the Democratic campaign of 1924 during which John W. Davis made an issue of American membership in the League. Fletcher's answer was the blunt and unfriendly statement that the United States would not join but that "as long as the League refrained from interference in her affairs" his country would cooperate on suitable occasions. Briand then attempted to discover the precise nature of American objections to the Protocol and the textual changes necessary to satisfy them. He intimated that the authors of the treaty would compromise to gain approval of the great powers, and he

¹⁰ Report of Hyde, Nov. 24, 1924, *ibid.*, 511.3B1/24674. Fletcher suggested that the United States let the treaty wreck itself.

¹¹ The conference was to begin on June 15, 1925, if by the previous May 1 three of the four great powers on the Council (Britain, France, Italy, and Japan) and ten other members of the League had ratified the Protocol.

¹² Kellogg to Hughes, Nov. 19, 1924, NADF, 741.51/45. The actual delay was in the preparation of the agenda for the disarmament conference. Kellogg also reported a predisposition on Britain's part to oppose the Protocol.

¹³ This feeling of relief probably came in part from a disinclination to face an invitation to the Protocol disarmament conference. Fletcher to Kellogg, Nov. 20, 1924, Frank B. Kellogg Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul. Fletcher first intended to visit Chamberlain in London and also, of course, talk to Kellogg, but he changed his plans because Kellogg suggested that no additional information would be gained in this way. See Kellogg to Fletcher, Dec. 1, 2, 3, 1924, *ibid.* Fletcher wrote to Kellogg that Hughes would acquaint him with Department policy if the Protocol question became acute. Fletcher to Kellogg, Dec. 8, 1924, *ibid.*

¹⁴ Fletcher to Hughes, Dec. 9, 1924, Charles Evans Hughes Papers, Library of Congress; also NADF, 500.A14/14. Fletcher to Hughes, Dec. 10, 1924, Hughes Papers.

asked whether in that case the United States would ratify. Fletcher replied that his government would not approve the Protocol as it stood; in fact, inclusion of the United States as a nonsignatory within the scope of its penalties was a most serious mistake, one capable of causing "resentment at home or even serious friction between Europe and the United States." Fletcher asserted that the United States would certainly not suffer a "European council" to apply a decision against it that it was an aggressor where it was "perfectly proper" in defending its rights. Briand misunderstood, thinking Fletcher was referring to the Japanese amendment, and he hastened to assure the American diplomat that when the Council considered a purely domestic question, no state would be labeled the aggressor. The confusion was ended by Fletcher's retort that the Protocol seemed to be an attempt to restrict American action in such a way "that it might easily be made to appear a new Holy Alliance." Fletcher suggested that there was a way to calm American fears. Was not the Protocol designed for two purely European problems: the Russian and German threats? Briand agreed. The scope of the treaty might then be limited to Europe, for then the objections to it as a Holy Alliance "would automatically disappear." Briand admitted that some limitation of this sort was possible. Even though he had made the suggestion, Fletcher was not sanguine about its prospects. He wrote Hughes that Chile, Brazil, and Uruguay had already signed and that probably the Protocol could not be changed.¹⁵

With France, Great Britain played a key role in the Protocol negotiations. Originally the British had been as enthusiastic as the French. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald of the incumbent Labour government supported the Protocol without realizing the strong objections it would arouse at home and in the Dominions. When, on November 7, 1924, the Conservative government of Stanley Baldwin came to power, the atmosphere changed. Although the Baldwin government was predisposed to oppose the Protocol, it remained undecided until late in February or early in March, 1925. As early as December 10 Great Britain informed France of its willingness to consider a pact with France and Belgium and suggested that this could be discussed after the Protocol's future had been decided. Actual cabinet consideration of the Protocol was postponed until February, 1925, so that Robert Viscount Cecil, a supporter of revision, could participate.¹⁶ That the cabinet's final decision was

¹⁵ Fletcher to Hughes, Dec. 15, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/263.

¹⁶ Myron T. Herrick, American ambassador to France, to Hughes, Dec. 10, 1924, *ibid.*, 741.51/41, contains the report on the proposed tripartite pact that was to replace the Protocol. For Cecil's opinion see Viscount Cecil, *A Great Experiment: An Autobiography* (New York, 1941), 165-66. In February, 1925, the historical adviser of the British Foreign Office, Sir J. Headlam-Morley, submitted a report urging revision instead of rejection. See *The Diplomats*,

in part the result of American influence is clearly shown by the story of Anglo-American discussions.

On five different occasions Britain explored the American attitude toward the Protocol. Although one approach was made in England via Ambassador Kellogg, the more important conversations were those in Washington between British Ambassador Sir Esme Howard and the American Secretary of State. On January 5, 1925, Howard called on Hughes, explaining that in a private letter Sir Austen Chamberlain had requested him to discover the American view of the Protocol. Howard said that the British government was undecided about it. On one hand, the instrument might lead to events embarrassing to Anglo-American relations, a most unwelcome possibility since a "cardinal point" of British policy was friendship with the United States. On the other hand, France and certain small countries rightly believed that the failure of the Protocol would result in a burdensome arms race. His government was seeking modifications which would resolve these difficulties, and it wished to know American opinion, "which would play an important part in consideration of the case." In this first interview Hughes refused to commit himself to an official opinion. He emphasized that the problem involved important questions of policy, that he could only give his personal opinion until he had consulted President Calvin Coolidge, and that for these reasons he wished Howard to refrain from answering Chamberlain until he had obtained the President's approval. Because Coolidge was diffident about policy making, Hughes was accustomed to a great deal of independence. But this matter did involve a crucial policy decision requiring Coolidge's opinion. The President approved of Hughes's position, and Howard was informed of this at the second interview on January 8.¹⁷

In this first meeting Hughes said that he did not believe the Protocol would be accepted without amendments. But "speaking frankly, he had hoped that the Protocol would die a natural death because he saw in it numerous sources of trouble. If it went through as it stood, America could hardly help regarding the League of Nations as a potential enemy." Hughes

1919-1939, ed. Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert (Princeton, N. J., 1953), 40-41. By March 5, 1925, the British cabinet had definitely made up its mind against the Protocol. Frederick A. Sterling to Hughes, Mar. 5, 1925, NADF, 511.3B1/306.

¹⁷ The Hughes version is found in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1925* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1940), I, 17-18. Hereafter cited as *FR, 1925*. In April, 1925, Kellogg requested Howard's memorandum of the January meeting. Although this is couched in somewhat stronger language than the Hughes version, it seems to be an accurate reading between the lines of what Hughes was saying. Howard to Kellogg, Apr. 29, 1925, NADF, 511.3B1/345. It is interesting to note that the immediate predecessor of the Protocol was the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance (1923). The Draft Treaty was less ambitious than the Protocol; the United States refused to sign the Draft Treaty but did not actively oppose it.

objected to the Protocol for two reasons: the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine¹⁸ and American neutral rights. Regarding the first, he thought there was "a proposal of a concert against the United States, when the powers joining the Protocol considered that the United States had committed some act of aggression." But the United States would feel justified since it would be acting in accordance with traditional policies. Howard correctly took this as a reference to an American action in defense of the Panama Canal that might lead a South American country to appeal to the League. As Howard interpreted the conversation, Hughes was saying that such an appeal would produce an explosion of American public opinion. Hughes also stated that although he did not believe this concert would become effective, in assessing it he had to assume the contrary. Thus the Protocol must be viewed with disfavor. It is clear that Hughes was implying that the United States would not tolerate interference with its protectorates in the Caribbean. Hughes also considered the Protocol as unfriendly to American neutral rights. But it is apparent both from the way he phrased his statements and from the general tenor of opinion in the Department of State that this problem did not worry him as much as the danger to the Roosevelt Corollary, because it was doubted that any country would permit the League to suspend its commercial relations with other countries. But this second problem was Howard's overriding concern, since Great Britain assumed (and Hughes agreed) that the United States would insist on trading with countries subjected to a Protocol blockade.

During the remainder of the interview, Hughes suggested that the Protocol would inevitably imperil British interests and bring that country into conflict with the United States, but he said that the British government must act on its own responsibility. And although Britain might wish amendments, these should not be presented as having American approval. He reasoned that such action would cause political unpleasantness on the domestic scene. This was quite likely the case, for although the Protocol had not been an issue in the campaign of 1924, American efforts to collaborate with the British in amending it would have antagonized the isolationists in the Senate, and Hughes always feared the sort of conflict Woodrow Wilson had sustained in 1919. Ambassador Howard thought the role of the United States could easily be hidden by a reservation to the Protocol allowing his government to make arrangements "with any power that was not a member of the

¹⁸ According to his own definition of the Monroe Doctrine given in two speeches made in the fall of 1923, it did not include the right of intervention. Intervention in the Caribbean under the Roosevelt Corollary was based upon the rights of national defense and self-interest. See Charles Evans Hughes, *The Pathway of Peace* (New York, 1925), 138-39.

League" in the event sanctions were to be applied. Obviously, the world would have known that the United States was to be consulted, yet this reservation did not imply an agreement with the United States.

On January 8 Howard called for a second interview. After a brief review of the previous discussion, the British ambassador concentrated on the Monroe Doctrine. What would the United States do, he asked, should the League apply sanctions in a dispute between two Latin American countries? The new problem thus posed involved all of Latin America instead of only Middle America. Hughes refused to say more than it was not America's duty to oppose the Protocol, but the British were aware, he assumed, that difficulties analogous to the one Howard mentioned might appear elsewhere in the world.¹⁹ (The answer to Howard's question is to be found, however, in an address that Hughes gave on March 26, 1919, at the Union League Club in New York City. At that time he had said that American questions should be settled by the American nations acting jointly, unless as a group they invited European intervention:²⁰ he had followed this policy in the Panama-Costa Rica boundary dispute in 1921 and he had not changed his mind by 1925.²¹) Howard then proposed a reservation to the Protocol specifically permitting consultation with the United States, because Britain must tell its League associates that sanctions could not be successfully applied over the opposition of the United States.

Hughes and his advisers pictured the Protocol as a rebirth of the nineteenth-century concert of Europe that had supposedly threatened the newly independent nations of Spanish America. The parallel between the Holy Alliance and the Protocol as drawn by the Americans is all the more striking because the Monroe Doctrine, enunciated against the former, seemed also to be in serious conflict with the latter. As a practical matter the Protocol could be called a "Holy Alliance" only if its adoption would convert the League of Nations into a concert that assumed and could enforce the right of intervention in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere and only if this right of intervention included the activities of a nonsignatory nation such as the United States. From the legal standpoint, the Protocol threatened the Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary by imposing on disputes in the Americas the unpalatable alternatives of League arbitration or sanctions. The realities of the matter appear to have been quite different. It should be noted

¹⁹ *FR*, 1925, I, 19-20.

²⁰ *International Conciliation, Special Bulletin II, Criticisms of the Draft Plan for the League of Nations* (New York, Apr., 1919), 692.

²¹ For a discussion of the Panama-Costa Rica dispute see Lawrence O. Ealy, *The Republic of Panama in World Affairs, 1903-50* (Philadelphia, 1951), 60-61.

that by 1925 the League had done little to apply the Covenant to nonmembers. Although it had dealt with several disputes between a member and a nonmember, it had not shown any inclination to deal vigorously with great powers who were nonmembers.²² Only Britain had a navy strong enough to enforce the terms of the Protocol in Latin America. As the Howard-Hughes talks show, British misgivings arose from fear of conflict over neutral rights; they did not foresee such grave danger of trouble over the Monroe Doctrine as did the United States. Furthermore, Britain and the other great powers in the League needed the passive friendship if not the active cooperation of the United States in solving disarmament and reparations problems. These powers would not have risked American disfavor by backing the League in the Western Hemisphere, because they had nothing to gain thereby. They had failed to give vigorous leadership when the League had ineffectually considered the Panama-Costa Rica boundary dispute in 1921 and the Tacna-Arica dispute in 1920;²³ this fact strongly suggests that the Protocol was no threat to the American position in Latin America.

What did the Latin American governments think of the Protocol? A desire on their part to use it against the United States would have justified the opposition of Hughes to the Protocol, if only because it was wiser to avoid a test of strength with the League. But Hughes knew before he saw Howard in January, 1925, that there was little to fear from Latin America. A Department of State circular of November 22, 1924, requesting information on governmental reactions to the Protocol brought, for example, replies from Bolivia and El Salvador to the effect that the United States would not permit the League, a European organization, to intervene in the hemisphere. A similar paucity of interest was manifested in all the other Latin American states.²⁴ Probably it was the perpetual unrest in Middle America that influenced Hughes, for in 1924 the United States not only had five protectorates there but also exercised a restraining influence over the area as a whole. At worst, the United States might have found itself at some moral or legal disadvantage in justifying the exclusion of the League from the hemisphere. From all this, however, it is fair to conclude that the Secretary was excessively cautious about the Protocol.

²² Hudson, *What the Protocol Does*, 399.

²³ Dexter E. Perkins, *Hands Off: A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Boston, 1941), 327-30.

²⁴ The only evidence of Latin American support came in a personal letter to Joseph C. Grew from an American member of the League Secretariat, stating that "in South America Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay have signed and are standing strongly behind the document." This was not confirmed by reports from these countries. Arthur Sweetser to Grew, Dec. 10, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/225. The circular was sent to all but three of the Latin American capitals and to various posts in Europe. William R. Barker to Hughes, Jan. 17, 1925, *ibid.*, 511.3B1/290. Montgomery Schuyler to Hughes, Dec. 16, 1924, *ibid.*, 511.3B1/256.

Since Hughes opposed the Protocol, he naturally tried to reinforce the doubts of the British, but he saw no profit in shifting the blame for its failure from British to American shoulders. The British continued their efforts to obtain a public statement of American opposition. On February 12, 1925, Chamberlain asked Kellogg, still ambassador to Great Britain, for such a statement,²⁵ and shortly after Kellogg replaced Hughes as Secretary of State on March 5, Howard presented a fourth British request. As was his custom in the first months of his tenure, Kellogg consulted Hughes and followed his predecessor's policy. To satisfy Howard, however, Kellogg did refer the matter to President Coolidge.²⁶ If the British had decided to accept the Protocol, however, it seems clear that the American Secretary of State would have taken a public stand.

At the League Council meeting on March 12, 1925,²⁷ Foreign Minister Chamberlain announced that his government could not accept the Protocol. When the Covenant was written to include nonmembers, he explained, no one supposed that the United States and other great powers would not join. As a nonsignatory of Covenant and Protocol, the United States would, he believed, refuse arbitration in any dispute in which it was involved, and thus would be classed as an aggressor. And without American cooperation, sanctions against aggressors could only redirect world trade. Chamberlain touched on other reasons for opposing the Protocol, such as domestic questions, and made a veiled reference to Germany and Russia (the other great powers). Essentially, however, his thesis was that the absence of the United States from the League prevented Britain from accepting broader obligations than those contained in the Covenant. Chamberlain suggested replacement of the Protocol with special pacts limited to special needs.²⁸ During a House of Commons debate on March 25, the Foreign Secretary more explicitly stated that although there was no official United States policy on the Protocol, in

²⁵ Kellogg to Hughes, Feb. 14, 1925, *FR*, 1925, I, 4. Kellogg did not express the views of his government on the Protocol.

²⁶ L. Ethan Ellis of Rutgers University stated that Kellogg consulted Hughes rather often during his first few months as Secretary of State. Ellis to the author, Jan. 16, 1956. See also memorandum of Kellogg, Mar. 12, 1925, NADF, 511.3B1/333½.

²⁷ On March 11 British spokesmen appealed through the press for the support of the American people by saying that Britain, like the United States, believed that immigration and other domestic questions should be left in the hands of the state concerned. This was, of course, a misreading of the Protocol. *New York Times*, Mar. 12, 1925.

²⁸ Chamberlain's address (see *International Conciliation*, no. 212, *European Security*, New York, Sept., 1925, 247-53) was drafted by Arthur Lord Balfour as a member of the subcommittee on the Protocol of the Committee of Imperial Defence. For an analysis of the Balfour memorandum see Alfred Zimmern, *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law, 1918-35* (London, 1936), 357-59. For more information on Chamberlain's attitude see Sir Charles A. Petrie, *The Life and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain* (2 vols., London, 1939-40), II, 252-69.

fact they opposed it because they regarded it "rather as a possible cause of war than of increased security across the Atlantic."²⁹ Chamberlain was correct in stressing the importance of American opposition but by making this the main argument he carried the point too far. The fact was that the sweeping commitments of the Protocol, including its *de facto* guarantee of the 1919 settlement, were incompatible with Britain's view of the League and with its pro-German policy. The objections of the dominions were also a factor, though these (especially Canada's) rested partly upon the absence of the United States from the League and the Protocol.³⁰ Thus it can be concluded that American opposition to the Protocol reinforced rather than determined Britain's stand, which in effect killed the Protocol.³¹

Chamberlain's suggestion of special pacts was a sound one, for if the League could not be strengthened by the Protocol's universal approach, manifestly its basic principles could be used in narrower, regional treaties. With this type of treaty Britain could avoid conflict with the United States and dissension within the British Empire, yet achieve greater security. Formal negotiations for more limited arrangements began with the German note of February 9, 1925, to Great Britain,³² although, as we have seen, the British first broached the subject with a proposal of an entente to France. When, on March 16, the German ambassador to the United States, Baron von Maltzan, asked Secretary Kellogg for objections to or suggestions concerning the proposed security pact, Kellogg refused comment, since the United States could not join.³³ After Chamberlain's statement at the League Council killed the Protocol, newspaper stories that the United States would call a disarmament conference augmented French disappointment. French Ambassador Émile Daeschner informed Secretary Kellogg on March 26 that

²⁹ 182, *House of Commons Debates*, 5S, 314-19 (London, 1925). The statement was made in support of the thesis that the Protocol would not encourage disarmament. Chamberlain's speech to the Commons described British objections somewhat more accurately than his statement to the Council. He pointed out that the universal obligations of the Protocol, requiring an increase in the British navy, was the main reason for the rejection.

³⁰ Edgar W. McInnis, *The Unguarded Frontier: A History of American-Canadian Relations* (New York, 1942), 344-45; *The Diplomats*, ed. Craig and Gilbert, 38-39.

³¹ Gwendolen M. Carter, *The British Commonwealth and International Security: The Role of the Dominions, 1919-39* (Toronto, 1947), 118-23; Richard W. Lyman, *The First Labour Government, 1924* (London, 1957[?]), 176-79. Lyman states that since even the Labour cabinet of Ramsay MacDonald was divided about the merits of the Protocol, one cannot assume that the Labour government would have ratified it. The view that the United States figured importantly in the British decision is presented by Daniel S. Cheever and H. Field Haviland, Jr., *Organizing for Peace* (Boston, 1954), 126.

³² Hans W. Gatzke, *Stresemann and the Rearmament of Germany* (Baltimore, Md., 1954), 34; W. M. Jordan, *Great Britain, France, and the German Problem, 1918-39* (London, 1943), 213-14.

³³ *FR*, 1925, I, 20-21. Coolidge said much the same thing in a May press conference. *New York Times*, May 27, 1925.

his government did not consider the Protocol dead and, in view of the German threat, believed disarmament impractical at that time.³⁴ And the next month Ambassador Howard at the request of Chamberlain raised the question of an American statement against the Protocol in order to influence the coming September meeting of the sixth League Assembly.³⁵

Secretary Kellogg was sufficiently concerned by these signs of life in the Protocol to ask the opinion of Senator Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.³⁶ The Senator advised that the United States should not adhere to the Protocol, but that if it did not, the Protocol's claim of jurisdiction over nonmembers would nonetheless be a threat. An American refusal to submit a dispute to the League would create a presumption of guilt. The League would have the legal right, therefore, to coerce the United States for any action legitimately taken under the Roosevelt Corollary as, for example, the Haitian intervention of 1914. "This is a very serious situation," wrote Lenroot, "for . . . the Protocol places in very great jeopardy the Monroe Doctrine." Ambassador Fletcher meantime argued convincingly to Kellogg and Coolidge that the European states might put the Protocol into force without Great Britain.³⁷ Kellogg had hoped, as had Hughes, that the Protocol would fail; not because the United States could not defend itself, but because he "did not relish the idea of any foreign country demanding that we arbitrate the question of our control of Haiti, Santo Domingo, or . . . the question of any foreign country attempting to take possession of the customs of Central American countries in order to enforce debts, or . . . anything pertaining to the Panama Canal."³⁸ President Coolidge suggested an official pronouncement against the Protocol; the prob-

³⁴ *FR*, 1925, I, 10-11. Francis P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations* (2 vols., London, 1952), I, 269-70.

³⁵ Memorandum of Kellogg, Apr. 28, 1925, NADF, 511.3B1/344½. For Kellogg's views on an American-sponsored disarmament conference and the prospects for the European security pact see his memorandum of April 30, 1925, *ibid.*, 500.A12/59a. David Bryn-Jones states in his *Frank B. Kellogg: A Biography* (New York, 1937) that the American attitude had no influence on British policy and that Chamberlain's approach to the then Ambassador Kellogg in February, 1925, was based on a desire to shift the blame for the failure of the Protocol to the United States. Although the February approach cannot be so lightly dismissed, Bryn-Jones's statement seems to describe accurately the April appeal to Secretary Kellogg. By April, Britain had publicly committed herself to an anti-Protocol policy.

³⁶ The covering letter is dated May 15, 1925, NADF, 511.3B1/345½. Lenroot regarded the Protocol as "an alliance to preserve the status quo." This alliance could be directed against the United States, and under the terms of the Protocol and the Covenant (Article XXI) the Monroe Doctrine would be subject to interpretation by the World Court, the League, or arbitrators. This seems to be the only reference to Article XXI, the Covenant's ambiguous statement about the Monroe Doctrine, in the official United States papers relating to the Protocol.

³⁷ Fletcher to Kellogg, May 19, 1925, NADF, 840.00/21. A letter of Fletcher to Kellogg, June 5, 1925, which I have not found, is mentioned in Kellogg to Hughes, June 19, 1925, Kellogg Papers.

³⁸ Kellogg to Fletcher, June 11, 1925, *ibid.*

lem was how it should be done. Although Kellogg prepared an address that mentioned the Protocol, Hughes's objections led him to hesitate.³⁹

Coolidge finally spoke out on July 3, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. But instead of condemning the Protocol he praised the Locarno negotiations.⁴⁰ Obviously Kellogg had now realized the desirability of encouraging a regional pact to replace the Protocol, as well as to promote European stability. In contrast to the cool response he received in March, the German ambassador was now cordially encouraged by the Department of State when he called to express appreciation for the Cambridge speech, which, he said, had been perfectly timed since it had assured Germany, France, and England of American interest. William R. Castle, head of the Division of Western European Affairs, urged the Germans to be conciliatory in negotiating with the French, and suggested that they would lose world support if they quibbled over French demands.⁴¹

Then, on July 30, Castle publicly reiterated American approval by saying that although the United States was not abandoning its policy of noninterference in European political affairs, it hoped "for the success of the European Security Pact."⁴² After the Locarno conference Coolidge himself expressed satisfaction with the resulting treaties,⁴³ while Kellogg informed the Danish and Italian ambassadors of American approval.⁴⁴ In his message to Congress on December 8 President Coolidge stated:

The Locarno agreements were made by the European countries directly interested without any formal intervention of America. . . . We have consistently refrained from intervening except when our help has been sought and we have felt it could be effectively given, as in the settlement of reparations and the London conference. The recent Locarno agreements represent the success of the

³⁹ "Some time ago the President suggested to me the advisability of making a pronouncement against the Geneva Protocol and asked me how it could best be done." Kellogg to Hughes, June 19, 1925, *ibid.* Kellogg was also concerned that the Protocol might affect the chances for Senate approval of American membership in the World Court, a step that the administration had requested in 1923. Although I have not found Hughes's answer to Kellogg's letter of June 19, 1925, his general attitude in the discussions with Howard in January, 1925, and his earlier advice to Coolidge as reported in this letter, indicate that he advised Kellogg against a forthright public statement of objections against the Protocol.

⁴⁰ This speech is in the *New York Times*, July 4, 1925. Coolidge said, "If the People of the Old World are mutually distrustful of each other let them enter into mutual covenants for their mutual security, and when such covenants have been made let them be solemnly observed no matter what the sacrifice." Edwin L. James wrote in the *New York Times* that Coolidge was keeping in close touch with the developments in the Locarno negotiations and that he had done much to influence both France and Germany to agree. July 20, 1925.

⁴¹ NADF, 793.00/87.

⁴² *New York Times*, July 31, 1925. I have not found Kellogg's letter of August 4 to Coolidge at Swampscott, Massachusetts, but have seen the latter's answering letter of August 6 in which he agreed that a statement on the Protocol was not desirable. A statement directly mentioning the Protocol was apparently under consideration.

⁴³ He said that Locarno was a "real achievement." *New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1925.

⁴⁴ Dec. 3, 1925, NADF, 500.A12/91.

policy which we have been insisting ought to be adopted, of having the European countries settle their own political problems without involving this country.⁴⁵

He added that the United States was gratified by this regional approach, which promised substantial benefits to the world.

The failure of the Protocol prevented the disarmament conference from being held in June, 1925, until after Locarno. Late in 1925 the League took a new tack when it created a preparatory commission for the disarmament conference and included the United States as a member.⁴⁶ Much disturbed by American policy on the Protocol, Eduard Beneš, conferring with Lewis Einstein, American Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, in February, 1926, predicted failure for the preparatory commission because of American participation. France, he reported, insisted on including naval disarmament on the agenda, and Britain agreed to this only on condition of American membership. Beneš believed that the Protocol's failure had not broken the intimate relationship of disarmament and universal security. With some bitterness he said that the guaranteeing of no more than regional security at Locarno meant that disarmament was now an "essentially European question," or, in other words, impossible.⁴⁷

The unwillingness of Hughes and Kellogg to accept a disarmament effort based on general security agreements had helped prevent any disarmament. Had the Americans not opposed the Protocol—ratification of it was of course a political impossibility—they would have forced the Baldwin cabinet to consider more seriously amendment instead of rejection. Chamberlain could only feel gratified at American disapproval of the Protocol; British distrust of the League and American isolationism were walking hand in hand.⁴⁸

Washington, D. C.

⁴⁵ *FR*, 1925, II, xii-xiii, has the complete speech. Alanson B. Houghton, ambassador to Great Britain, suggested this statement as a way to check European attempts to limit American influence and also to quiet criticism at home. Houghton to Kellogg, Oct. 27, 1925, *NADF*, 500.A12/75. The failure to invite the United States to the Locarno conference produced some newspaper criticism.

⁴⁶ Walters, *History of the League*, I, 360-61.

⁴⁷ Einstein to Kellogg, Feb. 22, 1926, Calvin Coolidge Papers, Library of Congress. This letter was passed on to the President.

⁴⁸ Houghton believed that the success of Locarno forbade the United States from bringing a land disarmament conference (in which the United States was little interested) but not a naval disarmament conference to Washington (Houghton to Kellogg, Oct. 24, 1925, *FR*, 1925, I, 15). James T. Shotwell suggested in 1925 that the United States might declare its policy to be governed by principles identical with those of the Protocol, in order that the rest of the world could build a security system with some degree of confidence. *International Conciliation*, no. 208, *Plans and Protocols to End War: Historical Outline and Guide* by James T. Shotwell (New York, Mar., 1925), 104.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

BANKERS AND PASHAS: INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AND ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM IN EGYPT. By *David S. Landes*. [Studies in Entrepreneurial History.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 354. \$6.00.)

EGYPT in the 1860's was bustling, dirty, corrupt, and exciting. For Europeans it was a place to make millions in any conceivable currency, but for Egyptians a place to go into debt to Europeans and to die of cholera. This frantic, unbalanced prosperity rested on three unstable foundations: the construction of the Suez Canal, the phenomenal boom in Egyptian cotton caused by the American Civil War, and the enigmatic personalities of Saïd and Ismaïl, the Egyptian viceroys veneered with Western culture yet dreaming grandiose dreams of an African empire. Professor Landes writes with authority on all of these, and in a sprightly—indeed, at times flippant and melodramatic—fashion that will reward reading even by those who are not particularly interested in Egypt, or finance, or economic imperialism.

The central core of the work, published in abbreviated form under the same principal title as a chapter of *Men in Business*, edited by William Miller (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), concerns the career of Édouard Dervieu, one of the European bankers, businessmen, and adventurers who descended in droves on “Klondike on the Nile” (the author's term) in search of windfall treasures. The unusual interest of the narrative arises from the fact that it is based to a great extent on the long, full, and remarkably candid correspondence of Dervieu and his principal backer in France, Alfred André, one of the most respected private bankers in Paris. The use of private business and personal archives is a distinctive characteristic of the “new” economic history—not to be confused with mere business history—and Landes, who is one of the pioneers and most able practitioners in the area, has drawn from his sources the most informative account I have yet seen of the detail of nineteenth-century financial operations. In addition, he fills out his narrative with two long introductory chapters on the nature of merchant banking and the “financial revolution” of the 1850's, a “digression on Suez,” and some concluding reflections on the contemporary significance of the “economic imperialism” of the 1860's.

The introductory chapters alone are almost worth the price of the book. They contain a wealth of factual information and demonstrate the author's authorita-

tive command of the literature of nineteenth-century finance. In my opinion, he is essentially correct in his revision of the prevailing view that the old-line private bankers flatly opposed and eventually were destroyed by the rise of corporate investment banking. The chapter on Suez brings out little new information, but does have the virtues of presenting a relatively unbiased account—rare in histories of the canal—and of placing Lesseps' achievement in its genuine historical setting, not in the "splendid isolation" which is its usual fate.

The brief concluding chapter is at once the most suggestive and disappointing of all. The use of the term "economic imperialism" in the subtitle is unfortunate. Economic, perhaps, but greedy men have always been willing to use the power of the state to achieve their selfish ends. Landes wisely refrains from trying to establish that economic forces were the sole or even the principal factors leading to military occupation and political control; indeed, he is acutely aware that the basic antagonisms between East and West were—and are—psychological and cultural. But many of his readers will, I fear, be misled by the emphasis of the subtitle. Underneath it all lay, as Landes correctly points out, the "double standard" of Europeans, reflected both in attitudes and behavior toward peoples possessing inferior technology and a weaker material civilization. That was the essential evil; the world today is harvesting the bitter fruit.

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RONDO E. CAMERON

LEZIONI DI STORIA DEI TRATTATI E POLITICA INTERNAZIONALE.

Volume I, PARTE GENERALE. INTRODUZIONE ALLO STUDIO DELLA STORIA DEI TRATTATI E DELLA POLITICA INTERNAZIONALE, LE FONTI DOCUMENTARIE E MEMORIALISTICHE. By *Mario Toscano*. [Corsi Universitari.] (Turin: G. Giappichelli, Editore. 1958. Pp. 518. L. 3,500.)

PROFESSOR Toscano is not only one of the foremost diplomatic historians of our time but also a participant in the making of diplomatic history. He has been in recent years an official at the Italian Foreign Office, is president of the commission for publishing the Italian documents, and is editor of the volumes from 1935 to 1943. His numerous articles and monographs have been mainly devoted to the period since 1914.

While the author writes primarily for his students in this volume, which reproduces a part of his lectures at the University of Rome, his knowledge of the sources is so profound and his observations so incisive and discriminating that even the most learned scholars will be able to consult his lectures with profit. The book is both ably done and important.

The study is divided into three parts and an appendix. Part I consists of valuable introductory comments on the nature of the study of international politics, on treaties, and on the great collections of treaties. Part II examines the col-

lections of published diplomatic documents, and Part III comments on some of the major memoirs of the diplomats. The appendix consists of one of the most provocative essays to appear in any country on the power struggle since 1945.

The author presents probably the best assessment yet made of the weaknesses and defects of the great printed collections of diplomatic documents. He finds much to criticize in Germany's *Die Grosse Politik*: the volumes are based too largely on reports rather than telegrams; the topical organization has more disadvantages than advantages; too little is reproduced from the Bismarckian period. Apparently political considerations did influence the exclusion of some important documents. He is likewise critical of the abandonment of the chronological order in the German collection for the Hitler period. The diplomats and the German Foreign Office played a minor role. Hitler, who had contempt for the diplomats, made the important decisions.

Toscano is unfavorably impressed with the organization of both of the great British collections of documents. The material for the early years of the 1898-1914 collection is somewhat thin. The private papers of Salisbury and Joseph Chamberlain are not used. Granting that the editors were men of integrity, he still feels that political considerations may have exerted an undetermined influence on the choice of materials. He praises the inclusion of minutes and marginal comments in the earlier collection and regrets the exclusion of these materials from the series covering the period between the wars.

The unscientific nature of the notes by the Russian editors of the still incomplete pre-Soviet documents and the poor indexing have been corrected in the excellent German translation, which is far superior. The serious gaps in the French documents before 1914 are to be explained by the reluctance of French statesmen to leave records of their secret actions, by the loss of documents in World War II, and by the failure of the editors to use private papers. The Austrian documents cover too short a period, exclude materials not directly or indirectly connected with the Balkans, and do not give the total picture of Austrian policy. The State Department documents have limited value for the historian prior to the change in the nature of the selection of documents with the volumes for 1932. The indexing, he finds, is the worst in any important collection being published. The author naturally writes with pride of the great Italian collection, which is in many respects the best planned of all the publications of documents and which makes extensive use of private papers. Due attention is also paid to Japanese materials, to the great French inquiry for the years 1933 to 1945, and to many minor collections, including the three volumes of Hungarian documents, the last two of which were suppressed and are extremely rare.

Part III begins with an analysis of the positive and negative values of memoirs as sources. In making a critical evaluation of selected memoirs from Talleyrand and Metternich to the more recent memoirs of World War II, the author shows great skill and knowledge in condensing the distinctive revelations into a few words. The result is a highly useful guide to this rich literature.

In his essay on the present international situation, Toscano feels that a kind of military stalemate has been reached between Russia and the United States based on the power of each to deliver mortal blows to the other. Formal agreements seem impossible but additional *de facto* accords are possible. He calls upon Europe to liberate itself from permanent fear of an imminent third world conflict and to raise living standards and solve urgent social problems. While admitting that local and civil wars may continue, he senses that much of the struggle will be economic and psychological.

Colgate University

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

SOVIET POLICY AND THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS, 1931-1946. By Charles B. McLane. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 310. \$5.50.)

THIS is a study of Russian policy vis-à-vis the Chinese Communist movement from 1931 to 1946. It is based upon examination of published Russian sources and Western-language materials dealing with the Chinese Communists, including translations from the Chinese. These materials do not permit a conclusive answer to many questions concerning the nature and importance of Russia's influence on the Chinese Communists during this period. Because the Chinese Communist movement was almost completely isolated in China's rural hinterland as an insurgent military and political regime, at best it had only very tenuous lines of communication with those outside its territorial bases and these were necessarily of a covert nature pertaining in a military situation. Fighting as they were for survival and power, there was little that the Chinese Communists could expect of help from without and little that Moscow could offer that was significant. Neither the Comintern nor the Russian Foreign Office was equipped to deal with such a situation. The result was that while Japan's activities made Russia increasingly concerned about developments in China, Russian spokesmen and Comintern figures discussed Chinese Communist problems in terms of remoteness and general vagueness. This situation provides a relatively meager body of information which, as Dr. McLane recognizes, says little about Russian politics and influence on the Chinese Communists.

Much of the study, therefore, deals not with Russian statements, but with developments within the Chinese Communist movement in an effort to determine what evidence of Russian influence can be deduced from intramural politics and party programs. This is done by covering chronologically the various stages through which the party passed in its time of rural confinement: the Kiangsi period (1931-1934), the formation of the United Front (1935-1937), the United Front (1937-1941), the war period (1941-1945), and the immediate postwar period. The evidence available in the sources used is carefully sifted. The book is useful as a compilation of data and an indication of the large number of questions that remain unanswered in present Western sources. Further work needs to be

done in materials that are becoming available in Japan and Taiwan and possibly elsewhere. We now have, for example, additional evidence on links between Moscow and Yen-an through Sinkiang in 1937 and 1938. Not only did Russian money go to Yen-an, but Moscow also used Chinese Communists to serve its interests in its Sinkiang zone of influence and even vetoed the application of the Chinese governor for membership in the Chinese party and enrolled him instead in the Russian party.

McLane's book, which is focused on the Soviet-Chinese Communist relationship, does not deal with the central issues for the Chinese Communist party during this crucial period when it established itself as a major force. Its primary concern was survival, and this depended entirely upon its own resources and political and military unity and strength. In Chinese Communist terms this always meant survival as a Marxist-Leninist party linked to all other such parties, but Moscow was a peripheral factor in their situation during this time of lonely and bloody testing.

The usual monographic facilities, including extensive footnotes which at times carry much critical commentary, are provided.

Columbia University

JOHN M. H. LINDBECK

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE U.S.S.R. AND THE PRESIDENTS OF THE U.S.A. AND THE PRIME MINISTERS OF GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR OF 1941-1945. Volume I, CORRESPONDENCE WITH WINSTON S. CHURCHILL AND CLEMENT R. ATTLEE (JULY 1941-NOVEMBER 1945); Volume II, CORRESPONDENCE WITH FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND HARRY S. TRUMAN (AUGUST 1941-DECEMBER 1945). (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House; distrib. by Chicago Council of American Soviet Friendship, Inc., Chicago. 1957. Pp. 400; 301.) [American edition published in one volume by E. P. Dutton, New York. \$7.50.]

A HISTORY OF ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS. Volume II, 1943-1950. By W. P. and Zelda K. Coates. (London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1958. Pp. 463. 37s.6d.)

THESE are both curious examples of the kind of historical scholarship that leaves the average "bourgeois" historian breathless. The collection of "correspondence" was put together by an official Soviet commission of historians headed by Dr. A. A. Gromyko, who also is well known as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. The study by Mr. and Mrs. Coates is the latest in a long series of publications by this team, the common characteristic of which appears to be that their authors are prepared to believe the worst about British and particularly American foreign policy and the best about the policy of the Kremlin. While

the official Soviet publication can be criticized because of certain omissions, it has the merit of consistency with previous official Soviet publications. In the work of the Coates the merits are more difficult to discern, but since it is an ambitious work of interpretation let us give it priority of discussion.

The Coates make no pretense of objectivity. Their method of research is to state certain theses, partly explicitly in their own words and partly by implication in quotations from the Soviet press and from British sources sympathetic with the Soviet position. They seldom comment on Soviet sources but frequently deliver themselves of indignant or sarcastic judgments regarding British or American critics of Soviet policy. For example, in referring to the official United States attitude toward Soviet annexation of the Baltic states, they write, "We doubt whether such a shameless *volte-face* as that of which U.S.A. [*sic*] government has been guilty in this case has any parallel in the history of international relations." There is scarcely a major issue between the Kremlin and the governments of Great Britain and the United States in the period from January, 1943, to the middle of 1950 on which the Coates do not take a position of such extreme bias that one wonders once again at the limits of human naïveté.

There is no doubt that the Coates have good intentions. They have gathered together a great mass of material from the British and American press. Some of it is very interesting. Unfortunately, there is no indication of use of sources in the Russian language. This is important, for if the authors had read the Russian press they might have been more aware of the fact that the Kremlin was highly skeptical, to say the least, about the possibility of genuine peace between the "socialist" Soviet Union and the "capitalist" countries of the West. Perhaps the greatest value of a book such as this one is that it sheds light on the sentiments of a certain section of public opinion in Western Europe, which is remote indeed from that of almost any segment of opinion in the United States.

Perhaps the most interesting fact about the two volumes of correspondence between Joseph Stalin and his British and American counterparts is that it took it so long to be published. In a way its publication is to be welcomed, as it represents a slight concession to world public opinion. The official Soviet governmental commission responsible for this publication worked with exceeding caution. They obviously took pains to include nothing that was not consistent with previous Soviet publications in the Russian language. In all probability, one purpose of publishing this collection was to offset the impact of statements regarding various actions and declarations by Stalin, which are contained in the memoirs of Winston Churchill and in books by Robert E. Sherwood, James F. Byrnes, and others. Since in some cases statements by Western leaders referred to conversations, rather than to "correspondence," the Soviet editors are on strong ground, technically, in omitting references to such matters as the Churchill-Stalin agreement of October, 1944, regarding the division of the Balkans into "spheres of influence."

Yale University

FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN

Ancient and Medieval History

THE GREEK EXPERIENCE. By C. M. Bowra. [The World Histories of Civilization.] (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1957. Pp. xiv, 210. \$6.00.)

THIS book is not one more survey, a procession of names, dates, and events connected by historical clichés and flavored with suitable anecdotes. The author undertakes a series of field explorations in related areas of the Greek scene, sinks his shafts into the rich soil, and brings up for our inspection a wealth of mental objects. These objects he handles and exposes with discrimination and delight, pointing continually to the evidences of a common stamp and style that they carry. The book has ten chapters, which range over the Greek landscape, language, and racial stock, examine the values of "The Heroic Outlook" and the meaning of the Greek gods, probe the moral and social values of the Greek citizen, and examine the specific qualities of the spoken and written word in the poets and the tragedians. The chapter on "The Place of Reason" treats the history of early philosophy and science. It is characteristic of Bowra that he finds room for a chapter on Greek art, which is supported by no less than 103 separate illustrations.

The over-all treatment has two notable limits. The Mycenaeans receive only scant mention. For Bowra, the Greek experience that can be authenticated begins with Homer. Also, as he warns in the preface and restates in the epilogue, he prefers to stop at 404 B.C., with the fall of Athens. From his point of view, even the century of Plato and Aristotle is already the twilight. This limitation, however unpalatable to philosophers, has one salutary effect. Previous surveys of the Greek genius have always tended to interpret it within a framework supplied by the two magisterial thinkers. In such accounts, Greek culture tends to emerge as a model of ethical balance or good taste or religious uplift rather than as a source of energy and power. Bowra recognizes the contributions of the two classic philosophers as rationalizers of the previous unconscious tradition, but he himself prefers to point firmly toward the earlier springs of that tradition in the values set on the concrete and on honor and achievement, in the preference for physical beauty, in the sense of rhythm, melody, and dance. The most effective chapters in the book are perhaps "The Heroic Outlook," "Myth and Symbol," and "Imagination and Reality." This is no surprise in an author who has done so much for scholarship in the study of the *Iliad*, of the lyric poets, and of Pindar.

An important survey of this kind always becomes vulnerable in proportion to its importance. Here and there, in the rapidity of his sweep, the author has perforce to cut corners. Thus we are told, "The word tragedy means goat-song, and the first beginnings of the art are to be found in a choral song to Dionysus, when a goat, which was thought to embody the god, was at first torn to pieces and later given as a prize for the best song." The unwary reader may not realize that be-

hind these unqualified statements lurks a disputed theory (of the goat-song) and two quite disparate attempts to support the theory (the dismemberment versus the prize) that Bowra has ingeniously combined. Also, the author perhaps too confidently projects the Platonic "cardinal virtues" into the sixth and fifth centuries. Sometimes an issue is avoided that if clarified could have shed further light on the Greek experience. Nor would one guess from Bowra the debt of Greek monumental sculpture to the Egyptians, who are otherwise included in that disparaging category described as "the herded multitudes of Egypt and Asia."

This last is an example of a kind of provincialism to which professional Hellenists are sometimes vulnerable. A generation ago even the history of Greek science was treated in careful isolation from "foreign influences." It is not an attitude in which Homer or Herodotus shared. Rather, it was the two great philosophers who on moral grounds finally divided Greeks and barbarians into superior and inferior races. If the point is to be made here, it is because even Bowra, despite his self-imposed restrictions, seems to relapse here and there into the metaphysics of the fourth century. He cites Plato only less often than Pindar, with Aristotle a close third.

In short, the Greeks even in these lively pages are sometimes commended to us in ways that appeal to modern religious instinct. It is a muscular Christianity, to be sure, in which the cult of the physical somehow suggests transcendental opportunities. It is a little too optimistic, even for the Greeks. A people possessed of such undoubting heroism and bounding energy might end by being a bit dull, in a new way. Bowra can rightly reply, however, in his own modest words, "If we try to form some general picture of what the Greeks were, we have to rely on our own judgment and hope that others will to some degree share it."

Harvard University

E. A. HAVELOCK

STORIA DELLE PROVINCE ROMANE DELL'AFRICA. By *Pietro Romanelli*. [Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica, Number 14.] (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. 1959. Pp. x, 720. L. 9,000.)

PROFESSOR Romanelli of the University of Rome is particularly well qualified by his years of archaeological experience in Cyrenaica to write this massive book. Geographically, the author limits himself to Africa Proconsularis, Numidia, and Mauretania; the temporal range is from 509 B.C. (Rome's first treaty with Carthage, which he tentatively accepts) to A.D. 439 (the Vandal capture of Carthage). The book does not aspire to replace S. Gsell's monumental eight-volume *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, but it does bring it up to date, with copious documentation. The references to inscriptions, often published in obscure journals, are particularly valuable. Fullest treatment is reserved for Africa under Augustus, quite properly, in view of that monarch's administrative reforms and broad colonization policy there. What Romanelli has written is political, military, ad-

ministrative, and economic, not intellectual history. This emphasis is justified because it is in these areas that the bulk of the evidence lies. The motive of Rome's original conquest was political: the annihilation of Carthage. Manifest destiny worked sporadically under the Republic, methodically under the Empire. And the fact that it is an account of imperialism at work will constitute the book's central interest for the nonspecialist historian.

The book provides, implicitly, likenesses and contrasts with the story of the rise of colonialism in the nineteenth century and its breakdown in the twentieth, with special though still implicit reference to modern Rome's lost new empire in Libya. The author, for all his objectivity, cannot be without a certain nostalgia for that empire under which the Fascist regime, consciously imitating ancient Roman imperial policy, built roads, grandiose civic buildings, schools, and hospitals, settled 200,000 colonists, counted Libya's administrative subdivisions as regular provinces of Italy, and extended a limited form of citizenship (like old Roman "Latin rights") to the native population. And so out of massive Roman ruins in the desert Romanelli makes a symbol.

In short, the book raises, though it does not solve, the old question of whether the alleged blessings of empire are worth their price in *Schrecklichkeit*. The site of Carthage sown with salt, Jugurtha strangled, Cyprian martyred—all this must be balanced against the evidence for prosperity and Romanization, especially for the African bourgeoisie; the evidence for a Rome-inspired African renaissance in art (especially mosaics), literature (Terence, Fronto, Apuleius), learning (Nobis), philosophy (Synesius), and Christian apologetics (Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine). But the prosperity and the renaissance was a middle-class affair; the mass of the population remained poverty-stricken and un-Romanized. Ancient panegyrics on the blessings of empire come from its bourgeois beneficiaries; the views and the grievances of the lesser breeds without the law remain largely unrecorded. Yet there may be some justification for Romanelli's argument that the very impulses to independence at work in North Africa today are the fruit of a seed first sown by ancient Rome.

University of Wisconsin

PAUL MACKENDRICK

TACITUS. Volumes I and II. By Ronald Syme. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 464; 466–856. \$13.45 the set.)

PROFESSOR Syme places Tacitus in a broader historical setting than does professor Mendell, whose *Tacitus* (New Haven, Conn., 1957) was reviewed briefly in this journal (*AHR*, LXIV [Oct., 1958], 143). Mendell concentrates on the literary aspects of Tacitus and devotes more than half of his discussion to the manuscript tradition, a topic that appears only incidentally in Syme's *Tacitus*. In this extensive and thorough study Syme pays equal attention to Tacitus the writer and to the history both of the years in which he lived and of those covered by his historical writings.

Syme agrees with the currently established position that the *Dialogus* is by Tacitus but disagrees with those who, like Mendell, would date it early, in the eighties, and thus minimize the contrast between its Ciceronian style and generally optimistic tone and the Sallustian style and pessimism of the other works. Syme argues, both here and in a contemporary article "The Friend of Tacitus" in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (XLVII [1957], 131-35) that the Fabius Justus to whom Tacitus dedicated this essay was a man known to have been suffect consul in A.D. 102 and that in antiquity such dedications were generally occasioned by some such important event in the life of the dedicatee as the attainment of a consulship. So late a date makes it difficult to believe that Tacitus could with one hand compose in flowing Ciceronian periods a dialogue concluding that the peace brought by the Empire compensates for the loss of occasions for oratory and with the other, pen with pointed Sallustian brevity the *Agricola*, which for all its tribute to Nerva's union of *principatum ac libertatem*, paints so blackly the tyranny of Domitian. Such an attitude was to be even more fully developed in the account of Tiberius in the *Annals*. Granted that an ancient author could adapt his style to his subject—Ciceronian for rhetoric, Sallustian for history—nevertheless, it does seem unlikely that such contrasting views of the Empire could be held at the same time by one who seems as sincere as Tacitus. Syme gives no answer to the objection that if the *Dialogus* was dedicated to Fabius Justus on the occasion of his consulship, might this not suggest that it may not have been written by Tacitus?

Syme revises the traditional picture of Tacitus' literary career on a second, less disputable point. He would agree that the composition of the *Histories* fell in the first decade or so of the second century, during the early years of Trajan's reign. But he finds evidence in the *Annals* that Tacitus was personally acquainted with the eastern provinces and problems and suggests that this familiarity may have been acquired during his proconsulship of Asia, in about A.D. 112. He therefore takes the reference (*Ann.* II 61 4) to the extension of the Roman Empire to the *mare rubrum*, presumably meaning Trajan's march to the Persian Gulf in 116, not as a later insertion but as showing that the early books of the *Annals* were composed at this time, or even later, since the abandonment of Trajan's conquests by Hadrian would not necessarily have led the historian to excise this note. From the conclusion that the bulk of the *Annals* were composed under Hadrian he develops a more dubious argument that there can be found in them, by *inuendo*, criticisms of Hadrian's antiimperialistic and antisenatorial policies.

By a third suggestion, Syme cuts the Gordian knot of how, if the *Annals* contained only sixteen books (as indicated by the numbering in the second Medicean manuscript and Jerome's total of thirty books for *Annals* and *Histories*), Tacitus could have crowded the hectic period from the middle of A.D. 66 to the end of A.D. 68 into the approximately half book lost from the end of the *Annals*. Syme's suggestion is that Tacitus originally planned eighteen books for the *Annals*, divided, as has previously been suggested, into three groups of six, but that he did not live

to complete much more than survives in Book XVI, and, indeed, left signs of haste and incompleteness in the later books.

A series of appendixes is devoted to a penetrating analysis of Tacitean style and vocabulary. Syme finds in the early style Ciceronian and Livian traits, then a movement toward a more thoroughly Sallustian manner, and finally the attainment of a balance in the third hexad of the *Annals*, in which the dichotomies and syncopations of the middle period are softened by a return to a more periodic structure.

The historian will profit richly from these volumes. They abound in the prosopographical detail, accuracy, and intuitions at which Syme excels. With Mendell, he justifies Tacitus as a military historian against the criticisms that have been leveled at his accounts of campaigns and battles. Syme holds that both the *Histories* and the *Annals* reflect not only Tacitus' bitterness against Domitian but also his varied reactions to Trajan and to Hadrian. The analysis of these reactions leads into thorough and suggestive discussions of the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian. Much attention is also given to the emergence of the new senatorial aristocracy, comprising men from northern Italy and the more Romanized western provinces who rose into the senate through the imperial service. These chapters breathe life into the specialized studies that have been made during the past half century on the composition of the senate and on the replacement of the old republican families by those of provincial origin. Tacitus realized the narrowness of the *nobiles* of the later Republic and the intransigence of their descendants, who survived into the early Empire and whose opposition to the new regime was based on family pride and resentment over their loss of privileged status. Tacitus and his contemporaries admitted that the Empire was not merely necessary but even beneficial, and to this extent the opinions expressed in the *Dialogus* may be fitted into his general pattern of thought. But they accepted it only on the presupposition that the ruler should be "good," that is, should conform to the Augustan pattern of a prince who respected the senate and the "republican" traditions that Augustus had been careful, at least outwardly, to "restore." Syme interprets most sympathetically their combination of respect for the great Roman past, of practical appreciation of an imperial, rather than a narrowly Italian approach to government, and of acceptance of monarchy if it was the Stoic "rule of the best."

These two volumes are not to be read at a sitting or only once; they must be studied, pondered, and consulted again and again. Their wealth of precise detail never obscures their imaginative understanding of the whole theme. And it need hardly be added, at least for those familiar with Syme's earlier writing, that the style, though often elliptical, staccato, and occasionally difficult to follow, is lively, stimulating, and Tacitean.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

KULTURGESCHICHTE DER RÖMISCHEN KAISERZEIT. By *Ulrich Kahrstedt*. (2d rev. ed.; Bern: Francke Verlag. 1958. Pp. 440. 38 fr. S.)

ULRICH Kahrstedt's *Kulturgeschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit* is considered by some to be among the standard works dealing with the cultural and social history of the Roman world during the first two centuries of the Empire. In this second edition, the author has brought this work to the latest stage of his investigation, which encompassed three continents, reaching from Morocco to Armenia, and from Britain to Arabia. Unlike most cultural and social studies of Roman life, this work follows a bold plan which presents a picture of the entire Roman world. Its usefulness is augmented by an abundance of splendid plates illustrative of the text.

The author is not simply presenting a picture of Roman life for the sake of the picture itself; the topic is presented in support of a general thesis. At the outset a brief account of the main aspects of the imperial constitution is presented with a discussion of the emperor and his court, the magistracies, and the financial, military, and judicial administration under the Principate together with the character of imperial and local government. A consideration of these topics leads to a survey of the domestic economy and administration of the individual provinces, concluding with a discussion of the crisis that existed in the provinces by the beginning of the third century. Important to an understanding of this crisis is the examination that follows of the manner of life enjoyed by the contemporaries of this age. The extravagance and general tone of life is related to the decay of education, literature, and science evident during this period. The concluding chapter is taken up with the philosophical and spiritual life of the Roman world at the close of the second century, which includes a treatment of the various superstitions and religions then prevailing in the Empire.

The civilization of the first two centuries of the Roman Empire the author regards as more than just a part of the last phase of ancient history. He finds that the history of the West comes in two great waves, the last of which includes the first two centuries of the Roman Empire as described in this volume. The first great wave begins with the passing of the natural economy of archaic Greece to the religious reformation and discovery of the world that men of the Greek city-state released. The curve reaches its material and spiritual climax in the Hellenistic world. The second great wave has its beginning with the rising power of the Roman Republic in the west. Here the Roman aristocracy has transcended the boundaries of the material power means known to the old world. The Hellenistic culture of the old world was blended into a great world state which became the object of exploitation by the capitalism of the young west.

Opposition in the west to this exploitation arose out of the convulsions that followed the age of the Gracchi. In the east this opposition was manifest in the wars with Mithradates of Pontus. Out of these struggles the army emerged as the

ruling factor, creating the image of the Principate that developed out of this revolution. By the end of the second century territorial states are gone, political interest is dead, and the impulse for scientific investigation has passed. The political overfatigue of the civilized world produces a rigid class state which at least has the virtue of security. The "present" having found its form, all human hopes and wishes turn toward the world of the spirit. A typical last phase of a civilization, in which the seeds of another medieval era are already apparent, is developing.

The author has tried to indicate in the text that this civilization accomplished its own downfall. The Middle Ages was present again as it had been before the awakening of the Hellenic spirit. Thus the second of the great waves includes the modern world which has passed through its religious Reformation and Renaissance and must one day need a new Augustus.

In conclusion, it might be well to note that this work is intended for those who possess no specialized knowledge of history as well as for the scholar. Thus the text is supplemented with a short list of the chief ancient writers consulted by the author and a chronological list of the emperors from Augustus to Septimius Severus.

University of South Carolina

RICHARD H. CHOWEN

THE CANONS OF THE COUNCIL OF SARDICA, A.D. 343: A LAND-MARK IN THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF CANON LAW. By *Hess Hamilton*. [Oxford Theological Monographs, Volume I.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 170. \$4.00.)

In the past few generations, studies on the Council of Sardica have made remarkable progress. The background and history of the assembly, the text and significance of its legislation have been thoroughly investigated and reinterpreted by numerous scholars. Particularly because of the painstaking research by Duchesne, Batiffol, Schwartz, and C. H. Turner, contemporary scholarship has been freed from the atmosphere of bitter controversy that surrounded for so many centuries the canons of Sardica and their interpretations—from the altercations that the affair of Apiarius caused between Rome and Carthage in A.D. 419 to the Gallican polemics of the eighteenth century and to the ill-starred, partisan attack that "higher criticism" at the threshold of our century (J. Friedrich, E. C. Babut) waged against the authenticity of the canons.

Still, though the days are gone when Sardica was a fighting word, not all the problems of interpretation have been given a final answer by modern Sardican studies. Also, much of this learning is scattered in specialized articles or tucked away in the apparatus of Turner's admirable edition. There was room, then, for a fresh monographic treatment, and Dr. Hess deserves our gratitude for pulling the threads together, reexamining the evidence, and carrying the analysis of his-

torical, textual, and canonical problems onto new results in many respects. The book presents a happy combination of straightforward historical writing and highly technical discussion.

The first part of this study deals, after a summary of the background and history of the synod of 343, with the textual problems and the transmission, while the second part is concerned with the historical and canonical interpretation of the canons. In Part I special attention may be called to the section in which the author develops in detail observations of earlier scholars on the form of procedural minutes, which characterizes most of the canons; only cc.7, 19, 21 are formally redacted statutes of the *placuit* type. Regarding the much-debated priority of the Latin or the Greek text, Hess returns with some modifications to the theory proposed in the eighteenth century by the brothers Ballerini: he thinks it probable that Latin was for the most part the business language of the proceedings but that two sets of minutes were taken. A convincing explanation of each of the twenty-eight passages that show differences in meaning between the two texts is given. As for Pope Zosimus' erroneous quotation of the canons of Sardica under the label of Nicaea, there is interesting evidence to show how widespread this and similar misquotations of early councils were in the fifth and sixth centuries. A more detailed account of the Latin transmission of Sardica in the early canonical collections is given in Appendix III, with the variants of canon seventeen as a sample of the textual development.

Part II is a thoughtful, well-balanced study of the Sardican legislation in the context of the history and the jurisdictional problems of the fourth century. Hess shows that the canons have to be read in their entirety as a consistent and courageous program of reform, designed to curb episcopal abuses, partisan action at regional synods, and civil interference in ecclesiastical affairs. This legislation included the acknowledgment in principle of appeal from synodal judgments to the Bishop of Rome—to the *caput, id est ad Petri apostoli sedem*, as the synodal letter to Pope Julius puts it—and thereby became tied up in all subsequent discussion with the sensitive topic of papal primacy. Admittedly, the three appeal canons present considerable difficulties of interpretation. Hess proposes to resolve these by considering them as three phases of the synodal proceedings. This answers not all the questions but is a methodologically sound approach. Also, in other sections of Part II (on the canons concerning translations of bishops, appointment of bishops, and episcopal visits to the imperial court) the method of arguing from the formal structure of the acts of the council often proves helpful. Hess also rightly emphasizes the fact that canonical legislation in a technical sense was still a new and often awkwardly handled instrument in the fourth century. One may add that during just that period the legislative techniques of the only model to which the Church could turn, the laws of the Empire, were in a process of rapid deterioration.

Of the three appendixes of the book, the first discusses the date of Sardica

(autumn, 343, against Schwartz and Telfer) and the second, the date of the Antiochene canons (probably 330). The third, on the early Latin collections of canon law, has been mentioned above.

Not all interpretations given by Hess of the Sardican canons may remain the last word on the matter. The book will stand nonetheless as a remarkable and successful contribution, not only to the study of these important conciliar enactments, but to the history of early canon law at large.

Catholic University of America

STEPHAN KUTTNER

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 12. Edited for the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, Washington, D. C., by the Committee on Publications. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 287. \$10.00.)

THE present volume, dedicated to the memory of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr., consists of eight studies and a review of the work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul, 1955-1956. Four of these studies are theological, but touch also on philosophy; two deal with art and archaeology; one examines a number of Roman and Byzantine medallions in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, while the remaining one discusses certain aspects of Arab-Byzantine relations during the period of the Umayyads.

Of the theological studies, one has as its subject the philosophical implications of Arianism and Apollinarianism; the other three deal with the thought of the great Cappadocian Fathers. F. Callahan discusses the cosmology of Basil, which, though based on *Genesis*, owed not a little to Greek philosophy; G. B. Ladner analyzes the anthropology of Gregory of Nyssa, i.e., Gregory's conception of the nature of man, a conception based essentially on the text of *Genesis* that man was created according to the image and likeness of God, but elaborated by means of Greek philosophical ideas as, for instance, the Platonic conception of man's assimilation to God; and B. Otis examines the thought of the Cappadocians as a coherent system. The study on Arianism and Apollinarianism, written by H. A. Wolfson, is the clearest account on the subject I have ever read.

The two studies whose subjects are in the domain of art, together with the review of the work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul, constitute almost half of the volume. One of the studies, written by H. Stern, examines the iconography and style of the mosaics in the Church of Santa Costanza at Rome, a fourth-century edifice, perhaps built originally as a mausoleum and decorated by a daughter of Constantine the Great. The other study is by Paul Underwood, the third of a series of preliminary reports that he has been publishing on the frescoes in Kariye Çamii at Istanbul. Underwood also wrote the review of the Byzantine Institute's work in Istanbul, 1955-1956. Perhaps to art history more than to numismatics, also, belongs the article in which A. R. Bellinger describes the Ro-

man and Byzantine medallions in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. The medallions described date from the third to the sixth century, but one of them, a silver piece of Phocas now in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University, belongs to the seventh century.

The article on Arab-Byzantine relations during the period of the Umayyads is by H. A. R. Gibb. It is not war and diplomacy, however, that Gibb discusses here, but certain cultural influences, particularly the Byzantine inspiration of the Umayyad policy of erecting imperial religious monuments. The authenticity of the Arab tradition that indicates this inspiration has been recently denied, but Gibb offers convincing arguments why the denial cannot be supported.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. Volumes I and II. Edited by *Austin Lane Poole*. (Rev. ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xxviii, 381; xiii, 383-661. \$17.50 the set.)

MR. Austin Lane Poole and his fellow contributors have produced nineteen essays on various phases of English medieval civilization. Twelve of these deal essentially with its physical aspects. Two are geographical—landscape and communications. Three deal respectively with civil, military, and ecclesiastical architecture. Seven others might be called antiquarian in their emphasis. They discuss arms and armor, coinage, costume, heraldry, art, handwriting, and printed books. The remaining seven essays cover aspects of the life of the time—warfare, town life, religious activities, education, science, and recreation. All the chapters that this reviewer is competent to judge make use of the results of recent research and are authoritative summaries of our present knowledge. It is an invaluable work for the English medievalist who wants a reasonable command of subjects outside his field of special interest.

In his introduction Poole states that this book "does not aim at uniformity of treatment." As a result the essays are aimed at no particular audience. Some of them are well suited to the general reader with an interest in the subject, but others demand a fairly extensive knowledge of English medieval history in general and a few require some specialized command of the subjects with which they deal. A further criticism may be made of most of the chapters. Too much detail is crammed into too little space. As a result the examples given are commonly too vague to be useful. The two volumes are profusely illustrated and in general well supplied with diagrams and charts. Here, however, there is one strange lapse. Lady Stenton's chapter on "Communications" is essentially one of the best in the book, but it will be almost incomprehensible to anyone who has not a detailed knowledge of English geography. No map is supplied except a very illegible reproduction of the Gough map of the early fourteenth century.

A number of essays in this work deserve special mention. "The English Land-

scape" by W. G. Hoskins is a readable and masterful summary of an exceedingly complex subject. It should be read by every historian of medieval England. The chapter on "Domestic Architecture and Town Planning" is particularly valuable because the material on which it is based is scattered through many periodicals and I know of no other summary of the subject. Perhaps the most useful chapter for the general historian is Anthony Wagner's discussion of "Heraldry." As a clear exposition of an incredibly involved subject, it is a masterpiece. He shows, moreover, the significance of heraldry in the history of the period more effectively than any work I know. The same comment applies to Professor Galbraith's essay on "Handwriting." Although Dom David Knowles in "Religious Life and Organization" undertook a task far too vast for his very limited space, he has succeeded in conveying a great deal of detailed information while making events of fundamental importance stand forth clearly.

While most of the other chapters are excellent, some are a little disappointing. The essay on the "Art of War" is too vague in its details to serve its purpose well. The chapter on "Coinage" contains too many unexplained technical terms to be of much value to the nonspecialist. The chapter on "Learning and Education" is a good survey of education, but is most inadequate as a discussion of English learning in the period.

The medieval historian will find these two volumes extremely useful as summaries of subjects that he needs to know something about but that lie outside his field of special competence. The general reader with an active interest in medieval England will be entranced by some of the chapters but will find others rather indigestible. The illustrations will delight and instruct all readers.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

HOHES UND SPÄTES MITTELALTER. By *Otto Brunner, Gustav E. von Grunebaum, Walther Hubatsch, et al.* [Historia Mundi, Band VI.] (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1958. Pp. 644. 34 fr. S.)

THIS volume continues the history of the three mutually antagonistic cultures that emerged after the disintegration of the Roman Empire: the Western, the Byzantine, and the Islamic. The superior creativeness of the West gave rise to a more diversified institutional development in contrast with the abeyant Byzantine and Islamic worlds. The relation of the static East *vs.* the dynamic West, "which ultimately drew the whole earth into its sphere of influence," provides a spectacle of almost ceaseless conflict. Throughout the book there is a constant but unobtrusive suggestion of the continuity of history as opposed to the periodic interpretation. This is most strikingly apparent in the introductory remarks of Professor Otto Brunner in his chapter "Humanismus und Renaissance."

Emphasis on the dynamic character of the West doubtless accounts for the basic plan of the book, which, in its total of 596 pages of text, devotes 385 to the

West, eighty-eight to the Byzantine Empire, eighty-three to the Islamic world, and forty to the closing decades of the Middle Ages.

The history of the West as here sketched begins with the rivalry between papacy and Empire for the dominance of Europe, appropriately characterized by Gerd Tellenbach as "one of the central themes of Western history." Brilliantly though briefly sketched, together with contemporary features of European history pertinent to both Empire and papacy, Tellenbach develops this rivalry to the moment when the canonists, ignoring the compromises born of the investiture conflict, boldly proclaimed: "papa ipse verus imperator" and, at length, to the temporary triumph of the pope following the death of Frederick II.

The emergence of national states, principally England and France, is sketched, first to 1154, by Walther Kienast and thereafter, to the fourteenth century, by Ferdinand Werner. It is here that one becomes most aware of the limitations inherent in the concepts of *Weltgeschichte* and *Handbuch*. This is especially apparent in the constitutional history of England during the reigns of Henry I and Henry II. While the sketches are admirable as broadly conceived interpretations, their summary character compels the sacrifice of qualifying explanations and essential illustrative details.

The contribution of Franz Huter, "Niedergang der Mitte, Aufstieg der Randstaaten im Spätmittelalter," carries forward both the papal-imperial conflict as it was resumed in the late Middle Ages, and the growth of the national states and dynasties. Here also are treated many aspects of the revolutionary developments of Europe as exemplified by the Avignon captivity, the Wycliffian and conciliar movements, and the changing concepts of the *Universitas Christiana*. Subjects such as the rise of the universities and the spirit of Gothic architecture suffer from overcondensation. The late medieval economic development is admirably sketched, especially the expansion of trade and commerce, the transition to urban life, the growth of money economy, and other features of the emerging capitalistic society. A chapter by Walther Hubatsch sketches the belated flourishing and subsequent decline of the Baltic regions, while that of Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz traces the growth of the Christian states of the Iberian Peninsula and the *Reconquista*.

The inner structure of the West is described by Otto Brunner, emphasizing such medieval concepts as that of the world of Christendom, the *imperium* in theory and in practice, the concepts of justice and kingship, the social classes, and the communes. Perhaps the most notable feature of this section of the book is the clarification of the hypothesis that the inner structural transition of Europe to the *Neuzeit*, notwithstanding the profound alterations of the ancient foundation resulting from the French and Industrial Revolutions, took place "auf dem Boden der 'alständischen' Gesellschaft Europas."

The conviction grows as one progresses through the book that a just appreciation of it can be made only when the *Historia Mundi* can be reviewed in its en-

tirety. Such chapters, as for example, Hunger's "Byzanz in der Weltpolitik" and Ostrogorsky's analysis of the inner structure of the Byzantine Empire should be read in conjunction with the Byzantine section of Volume IV. The chief features of Byzantine foreign relations as here treated are: the rivalry with Rome and the Western Empire and the conflicts with Islam and the northern barbarians. As Hunger observes, "among the world historical functions of Byzantium it was not the least that it served as a buffer between the East and the Latin West." The author is no less aware of the influence exerted by the Byzantine Empire upon the institutions of the Slavic peoples and upon the humanism of the West. The cultural influence is sketched further by Ostrogorsky during the "new era" following the iconoclastic crisis, when cultural and intellectual life continued to flourish despite the conflict of the feudal magnates with the *autokratische Zentralismus*, which led ultimately to the ruin of the Empire.

The Islamic chapters, the work of Bernard Lewis, Roger LeTourneau, and Gustav E. Grunbaum, deal respectively with Islam and the East, Islam and the West, and the spiritual-cultural unity (*geistig-kulturelle Einheit*) of the Islamic peoples as it was reflected in certain far-flung institutions such as the chivalrous order, the *futuwwa*. This tripartite organization serves, in a measure, to clarify some features of Islamic history that often appear needlessly confused in books of similar scope.

Two summary chapters, one by Otto Brunner, "Humanismus und Renaissance," and the other by Hans Wühr, "Die Kunst der Renaissance," are designed to sketch the cultural transition from the late Middle Ages to the modern era.

The book will doubtless evoke conflicting opinions as to its organization, although there will be general agreement that, within limitations imposed by a *Handbuch*, the individual authors have accomplished their tasks with admirable skill. Stylistically, it suffers the inevitable defects of composite authorship. It is pleasing to note, however, that the editors apparently have not marred the individual contributions by rewriting the chapters for the sake of stylistic unity. The bibliographies are usually ample, though not all-comprehensive. A few American works are included, although there are several notable omissions. It is the distinguishing feature of the volume, however, that it has incorporated most of the significant results of recent historical scholarship.

Bowdoin College

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

Modern European History

GUIDE TO THE DIPLOMATIC ARCHIVES OF WESTERN EUROPE.

Edited by *Daniel H. Thomas* and *Lynn M. Case*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 389. \$7.50.)

THIS long-awaited book, a *Festschrift* in honor of Professor William E. Lingelbach, is designed for scholars "interested in finding and making the fullest use of

the original diplomatic documents of western Europe." It has a total of eighteen chapters, the work of twenty-one authors. The first fourteen deal with archival repositories in as many countries—Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Vatican City. The remaining chapters, on "Special Archival Sources," are entitled "Bavaria," "The League of Nations and the United Nations," "Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs," and "UNESCO." A general index covering repositories, guides and inventories, private papers, and place names concludes the book.

Each country chapter usually contains four types of information: a history of the principal repositories; a description of the organization, arrangement, and classification of records; an array of data about administration, regulations, search room hours, periods when repositories are closed, libraries with manuscript holdings, cost of microfilm, even a few suggestions about living arrangements in the various cities; and a bibliography of published documents and finding aids. In short, the authors have tried to answer the questions of potential searchers in foreign archives.

On the whole they have acquitted themselves admirably of their respective tasks; the chapters on Austria, Belgium, and France seem particularly inspired. The wealth of information brought together should be found useful not only by both new and experienced searchers but also by archivists. Work with manuscripts is slow work at best. The better prepared a searcher is when he appears at an archival repository the better the archivist will be able to serve him. Such preparation involves consultation of printed guides and inventories and documentary publications. This book provides a number of helpful leads to such tools that are readily available on this side of the Atlantic. Additional leads are found in the annual "Writings on Archives" in the *American Archivist* and in *Archivum*.

Also available here are quantities of photographic reproductions of documents in the archives and libraries of at least five European countries. Only the chapters on France and Vatican City call attention to these materials in the Library of Congress and elsewhere. In 1946 the Library published a *Guide*, compiled by Miss Griffin, to manuscripts in British depositories of which its Division of Manuscripts has reproductions. This *Guide* is not mentioned under Great Britain, nor are Charles McLean Andrews' two guides to records in that country. *Sic transit gloria mundi!* Certainly anyone contemplating research in Europe would do well to check the photographic reproductions in the Library of Congress before setting out. The National Archives now has microfilm copies of some of the records of the German Foreign Ministry (largely postdating 1914) and the Stresemann papers that are mentioned in the chapter on Germany.

Considering the intense interest of recent years in international relations since World War I, the editors were wise to include chapters on several important international organizations. The book in fact points to archival fare extending from

the Middle Ages to the present. Should a second edition be issued, this reviewer suggests that it include a short list of generally applicable references. In the present volume the *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden* appears under Austria only. Rather than repeat the title under each country having diplomatic representatives between 1648 and 1763, it could be given once in a general list.

National Archives

CARL L. LOKKE

POLNISCHE NATION UND DEUTSCHE POLITIK IM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By *Werner Conze*. [Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Number 4.] (Köln-Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1958. Pp. xxii, 415.)

AMONG the several excellent monographs on the 1914-1918 period published in recent years, this is easily one of the most important. The author, a professor at Heidelberg, is a leading German expert on the history of East Central Europe, and one of the most versatile. In this substantial volume he turns from sociological analysis and the systematic exposition of political ideas, in which he has previously demonstrated his facility, to the detailed political narrative within a conventional chronological framework. The volume is based on a staggering amount of archival research as well as on a mastery of the printed literature in all relevant languages, particularly the Polish.

The impetus to the study came when the papers of General von Beseler, the governor general of the German zone of occupied Poland, were made available to Conze some years ago. He subsequently widened his researches to include papers of the general government of Warsaw, the most pertinent files of the German Foreign Office archives, and a number of other collections and items. Of these latter, the most important was a voluminous historical manuscript, based on documents from both the German and Austrian archives, which had been composed by Kries, the head of the German civil administration in occupied Poland.

As the title quite accurately suggests, Conze's study has a double focus. He is first of all concerned to show the political developments among the Poles in Poland leading up to the emergence of the new state in 1918. This he does in much detail. He also casts his beam with equal force on German policy toward Poland, or, more precisely, on German policies: for the essential fact was that while there were certain interim policy decisions—as, for example, the famous proclamation of November 5, 1916—various fundamental questions of policy were never really settled. There was, instead, constant debate and constant tension between the proponents of a German-oriented big Poland (Beseler), a German-oriented small Poland (Ludendorff), and the leaders who at one time and another espoused the Austro-Polish solution (Kühlmann, Friedrich Naumann, etc.).

A further theme, which does not receive quite the same emphasis as the other two, is Austria-Hungary's Polish policy and its impact on German policy. The

troubled wartime relations of the Hohenzollern-Hapsburg allies were certainly made no easier by the need to coordinate their Polish policies, and Polish policy was also the hinge upon which their discussions of a future political, military, and economic integration of Central Europe tended to turn. German and Austro-Hungarian leaders were vigorously arguing over Polish policy until the very eve of the Armistice. In handling the Austro-Hungarian side of this debate—the respective positions of Czernin, of Emperor Karl, of Wedel, the German ambassador in Vienna—there is not quite the same sureness of touch that otherwise characterizes the volume.

The book is without large dominating points of view, except for a prevailing intention, successfully realized, to avoid treating the Polish question from a narrow German nationalist standpoint. One regrets a little that the author, who has demonstrated elsewhere his gifts for interpretation and generalization, abruptly ends this volume with an *Überblick* of only a page and a half.

Washington, D. C.

PAUL R. SWEET

THE KING'S GOVERNMENT AND THE COMMON LAW, 1471-1641. By Sir Charles Ogilvie. (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell. 1958. Pp. vii, 176. 21s.)

THE interplay between the common and the civil law and between the common lawyers and the kings' governments in Renaissance England constitutes a momentous theme. Sir Charles Ogilvie tells this story as a continual battle to procure the victory of the common law over all others and to maintain the common lawyers' monopoly over litigation and justice, too. These professionally proud men affected the English constitution profoundly, historians and lawyers for long have assumed, and now Ogilvie has chalked out the main lines of their struggle in an intelligent, sensible, and seemingly valid interpretive essay.

The dominant point of view is one of antipathy toward the common law and its practitioners and of sympathy toward the civil law and the prerogative courts. The intricacies and rigidity of the common law sometimes precluded justice; and the common lawyers' pedantry and obscurantism, with their sacred formula, "the course of the law," also put off reforms. And so for justice's sake, first the chancery's court of equity and then the prerogative courts came to purvey equitable and enforceable law. Throughout these contests, however, the "toughness" of the common law prevailed; and Ogilvie has described the common lawyers' "toughness," too, in clinging to the privileges of their professional order and in trying to keep a strangle hold on royal justice. Constantly in alliance with men of property, they fought in Parliament to limit the prerogative courts so popular for quick and effective decisions until their abuse by Charles I sullied their reputation.

Ogilvie has combined admirable analyses of the conflicts in laws and of the rivalries between men of law and ministers with a narrative of political and constitutional history. His account, although founded on familiar evidence and

standard authorities, has focused attention and put needed emphasis upon the prolonged opposition, by both populace and princes, to the common law and lawyers. The political-constitutional story is traditional, and parts of it are now outmoded. Reference to the writings of Elton, Neale, Willson, and other historians in Britain and America, instead of so great a reliance upon Pollard, Holdsworth, and their contemporaries, would have avoided an obsolete version of Tudor and Stuart governance. However, such shortcomings are offset by Ogilvie's common sense and a pragmatic attitude toward both law and history, and his conclusions are worthy of more detailed investigation. His wise and respectful criticisms of the common law and its exponents should correct the excessive adulation of that law and such violent champions as Sir Edward Coke. And yet, paradoxically, "tough old Coke" and his uncivil successors, with their distortions of the uncouth medieval law, were the ones who won for us the blessings of modern constitutional government.

Yale University

WILLIAM H. DUNHAM, JR.

THE MIDLAND PEASANT: THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF A LEICESTERSHIRE VILLAGE. By *W. G. Hoskins*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1957. Pp. xxii, 322. \$6.75.)

THE ESTATES OF THE PERCY FAMILY, 1416-1537. By *J. M. W. Bean*. [Oxford Historical Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 176. \$4.00.)

Mr. Hoskins' study of the Leicestershire village of Wigston Magna from Anglo-Saxon times to the nineteenth century is, in the author's words, a "contribution to English economic and social history, and not a history of the village as such." His concern is with the Midland open-field economy, with the society based upon that economy, and with the effect of change upon both of them. Wigston, then, is a case study in agrarian history and both the subject itself and Hoskins' authority make *The Midland Peasant* a weighty contribution that takes rank with Miss Davenport's pioneer *Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor* (1906) and Professor Gras's *Economic and Social History of an English Village* (1930).

The book might not unreasonably have been entitled "the slow decline and fall of Wigston Magna," for Hoskins' interpretation is a cataclysmic one. Before the eighteenth century, Hoskins argues, the keynote of Wigston's history had been continuity. The stability of the open-field economy with its closely knit system of tenant rights, the relative self-sufficiency of the small holders of the village, the persisting social structure of the Danelaw in which Wigston lay, the weakness of the manors that history (i.e., conquest) had superimposed upon, without really affecting, the life and work of the vill—all these had shielded

Wigston's peasant society from the effects of change. Within this framework Wigston had an active, if somewhat limited, economic life. From the earliest date we see much buying and selling of land by villagers, the rise and fall of small holder families, and some degree of population mobility, especially in the later medieval period. Wigston had felt the agricultural depression of the fifteenth century, the price increases of the sixteenth century, the stresses (and especially the heavy taxation) of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth. In the eighteenth century the increase of population had brought the vill to the limits of its available arable land; after about 1700 the landless laborer predominated and, for the first time, indigence became a permanent problem. All this, however, took place within the framework of the open fields. Altered somewhat, the vill remained essentially what it had always been.

The history of Wigston thus falls into the old pattern of English agrarian history. It provides little support for recent interpretations that seek the overthrow of the old Midland village in the agrarian changes of the sixteenth century or in the rise, during the seventeenth, of a ruthless and thrusting gentry. The knell of Wigston's peasant society was struck, not by these events, but by an enclosure act in 1766. With Wigston we have come full circle—back to Dean Cunningham and Thorold Rogers! In Wigston, as elsewhere in the Midlands, the cataclysm did not arise from the breaking up of the open field *as such*. For two or three generations before the act the small holders had been losing out; enclosure, in a sense, no more than confirmed the long decline of the small husbandman. What destroyed him—and the cottar and bordar with him—was the sweeping away of rights to the commons. In the relatively short space of sixty years (1770–1830) he was reduced to pauperdom.

If the argument is an old one, *The Midland Peasant* is nevertheless a tour de force. Hoskins' mastery of his sources (especially of taxation documents and of copyholder wills, probates, and inventories, in the use of which he has pioneered), his elevated, at times almost elegiac, style, and his commendable emphasis upon the essential continuity of English village life lend distinction to this study. It is not without weaknesses. Wigston was a singular village; the Danelaw influences, the absence of a lord and the weakness of its manorial structure, and the lack of any monastic influences make it an example from which it is difficult, indeed risky, to generalize. No manorial records—accounts, custumals, and court rolls—survive and the alternative sources upon which Hoskins relies may have led him to exaggerate the degree to which Wigston's peasants were shielded from the influences of a money economy. But these are minor blemishes. Both for its own sake and for the correctives that it applies to recent tendencies, *The Midland Peasant* must be considered a major contribution to English social history.

The fifteenth century in England was a time of political turmoil and of agricultural depression, particularly as concerned the fortunes of the gentle landholder. Since Thorold Rogers English historians have debated the relation be-

tween these two phenomena. Mr. Bean's study of the estates of the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, is a careful and scholarly work, only slightly controversial in intent. With admirable control of his sources, Bean traces the tenurial and economic evolution of the widespread Percy manors during this period and analyzes the general financial position of the family. In view of the Percies' importance in fifteenth-century England, Bean's monograph is an important contribution; it throws much light on the problems, methods, and tendencies of fifteenth-century land management. It throws light, too, on larger issues, for on two separate counts the experience of the Percies constitutes a warning against dashing opinions concerning the decline of noble finances in the fifteenth century. Like other noble houses, the Percies faced a serious financial crisis during this period. But the financial difficulties of the third Earl, who in 1461 died twelve thousand pounds in debt, and the bankruptcy in 1537 of the sixth Earl, so much remarked upon, proceeded, Bean argues, from specific as much as from general causes. Rents and revenues declined by about a quarter in the early fifteenth century and fixed charges, particularly retainers' fees, heavily encumbered the estates. But what might for smaller landholders have proved disasters were for the Percies merely difficulties, and by no means insurmountable ones. In the latter part of the century matters were repaired partly by rationalization (within rather broad limits) of the estates, partly by gains from inheritance, partly by tighter central administration by the lord's household. The stabilization of rents after 1460, their rise after 1490, accompanied by sound methods of administration lacking in the earlier period, put the Percy estates on solid footing in the sixteenth century. Their dissolution under the sixth Earl arose from causes which, in Bean's words, "were not financial or economic but psychological in character . . . the personal responsibility of a weak and gullible character, the willing victim of greedy favorites and of the skilful diplomacy of a hostile Crown." The history of the Percy estates, then, suggests not the weakness but the strength of noble fortunes. Similarly, on the political side, Bean argues that the Percies' contest for political power in that epoch of "bastard feudalism" was more a cause than an effect of their debts and financial difficulties in the mid-fifteenth century. The prizes of politics in the north were great ones; the Percies' wardenship of the eastern marches brought 2,500 pounds per annum in peace and five thousand pounds per annum in time of war, as against estate revenues that Bean (probably underestimating them somewhat) puts at about three thousand pounds in 1455. But the costs in terms of retainers' fees and annuities were great, too, engorging about 50 per cent of income and involving the Percies in considerable debts. Was it worth it? The question probably did not present itself to the Earls of Northumberland in those stark terms, but Bean suggests that if their experience may be taken as a basis for generalization, the motives behind "bastard feudalism" were somewhat misty ones, not clearly economic, but probably, if anything, the reverse. Bean's study goes far toward rescuing the Percies' history from controversy and emphasizes at

the same time the need for further monographic work on one of the least-understood periods of English agrarian history.

Yale University

WILLIAM R. EMERSON

BRITAIN'S DISCOVERY OF RUSSIA, 1553-1815. By *M. S. Anderson*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 245. \$6.75.)

Mr. Anderson has undertaken to present a study of Anglo-Russian relations from the days of Richard Chancellor's celebrated discovery of the White Sea (1553) to the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. If the Russians were virtually an unknown quantity to the Elizabethans, by the close of the Napoleonic wars no diplomat could deny Russia's position among the major powers. In effect, Anderson's impressively documented researches are not intended as a systematic analysis of the complex evolution of Anglo-Russian diplomatic, military, and commercial relationships; the objective, rather, is that of surveying English reactions, both official and popular, to the gradual development of Russia from obscurity to the great power she was to become.

There are clearly some high lights in this always absorbing picture: the early commercial success of the Russia Company; the remarkable four-month visit to Britain of Peter I; the establishment of permanent diplomatic relations in 1704-1707; England's "hiring" of Russian troops in the War of the Austrian Succession; the vital significance to the Georgian navy of Russian naval stores; the voyage of three Russian Baltic squadrons to the Mediterranean in 1769-1770 and their extraordinary victory—with the help of British officers—over the Turks. No less significant is the discussion of the ill-fated Anglo-Russian Netherlands campaign of 1799, as well as of the much-debated Ochakov affair, in which the younger Pitt initiated the gradual trend to hostility toward Russia, later to be so characteristic of Victorian diplomacy. It is impossible to read this admirable survey without constant reference to the international realities of 1959. If the eighteenth-century Englishman tended to see the Muscovite as little more than a slave; if he envisaged Russian life in terms of cruelty, display, censorship, secret police, and superstition, how could he think otherwise, if indeed it were otherwise? Actually, how could he learn more in the face of the pervasive Russian xenophobia, obscurantism, and reluctance to permit czarist subjects to travel abroad? In many ways the Iron Curtain was hardly less ubiquitous in the Russia of Catherine II than it is in Khrushchev's Russia, whatever the Czarina's Voltairian pretensions. In the three centuries prior to 1815 English public opinion, varying, of course, with the immediate situation, tended to reflect an admixture of national superiority, contempt, and condescension, occasionally seasoned with a kind of astonished respect not unmixed with a growing undercurrent of fear. It is a melancholy commentary that in the course of two generations the Soviet Revolu-

tion has done little to alter this approach, except in the progressive increase of one element: fear.

Colgate University

DOUGLAS K. READING

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE. Volume I, APRIL 1744–JUNE 1768. Edited by *Thomas W. Copeland*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. xxv, 376. \$8.00.)

AFTER more than a century, a new *Correspondence* of Edmund Burke has begun to appear. The old *Correspondence* (1844) contained only 305 letters; now Thomas W. Copeland and a committee of distinguished American and English scholars are working on several thousand, most of which became available only ten years ago when the Fitzwilliam family deposited their papers in the Central Library of Sheffield and in the archives of the Northamptonshire Record Society.

In the first of eight volumes planned by Copeland are nearly two hundred letters from Burke's formative years: his school days, his "literary" years in England, and the beginning of his political career. Some have never been printed before, some are produced accurately for the first time, and one much-quoted letter is shown—by sharp internal criticism—to be fraudulent and so appears in an appendix. Subsequent volumes will present many more new letters, bring together those now scattered in a surprising assortment of books, journals, and manuscript collections, and will probably turn up more surprises. The new *Correspondence* will greatly enlarge and enhance the body of evidence for Burke studies. Judging from the quality of the first volume, the work will be superb. A perfectionist's attention to detail is evident in the reproduction of the letters, and the notes hit just the right medium—they are ample and succinct. Clearly the editors are accumulating crucial information for the emergence of a better-known and better-understood Burke: they identify obscure people important in his life and clarify his personal relationships, explain intricate political situations, solve old questions about his anonymous writings, and refer to an astonishing array of little-known sources—résumés of lost speeches, fragments of unpublished writings, contemporary correspondence and comment. The ingenious research that produced this kind of annotation must be uncovering still more source material and information that will not find its way into the notes; could we hope to see it in a supplement to the volumes of letters? Meanwhile we shall be grateful for the fine editing of the letters themselves. They make fascinating reading, not only for Burke scholars, but for everyone interested in eighteenth-century politics and thought and for all those who admire (or deplore) the man and the kind of political philosophy for which he stood—and stands.

Emory University

WALTER D. LOVE

L'ÉCONOMIE BRITANNIQUE ET LE BLOCUS CONTINENTAL (1806-1813). Volumes I and II. By *François Crouzet*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. Pp. 408; 420-949. 1,700 fr.; 1,800 fr.)

As its title indicates, Professor Crouzet's study is primarily concerned with the structure and vicissitudes of the British economy during the eight years that Napoleon's continental blockade operated. He does not attempt to analyze the effects that the blockade and the British countermeasures had on the continental countries or the United States. Nor, except in a short *conclusion générale*, does he try to assess the influence of the blockade on the Napoleonic drama as a whole. There was, as he reminds the reader from time to time, a close relationship between Napoleon's varying military fortunes and the effectiveness of his plans for ruining England economically. But he focuses his attention resolutely on one major aspect of the titanic struggle—how and why the British were able to defy and surmount the blockade. This question, he insists, has not hitherto been examined in sufficient depth and detail.

The author's eminence as Professeur à la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux and the decision of the French Ministry of Education to subsidize the publication of his work emphasize its value and significance. Crouzet has made an important, detailed, and conscientious contribution to the economic history of the Napoleonic period. His manuscript, "malheureusement trop volumineux," had to be somewhat curtailed for the press, notably by omitting the bibliography and list of printed sources. But the "Sources Manuscrites," the "Liste des Principales Séries Statistiques Utilisées," the extensive tables and graphs, and the frequent and explicit footnotes fully attest the amplitude, rigor, and exactitude of his research.

British historians, as the author notes, have tended to ignore the effect of the blockade on British economy. Surveying the literature of the subject from the pioneer work of Kiesselbach and the labors of Rose, Cunningham, Heckscher, and Silberling, he comes to the recent studies of Gayer, Rostov, and Schwartz. He pays a warm tribute to the contributions made by American historians—Melvin, Galpin, Albion, and others—without including Mahan. The information he draws from his predecessors and contemporaries is checked and enriched by his own patient exploration of the archives and the surviving records of individual banks and business firms.

The precise and lucid style, the logical organization, and the abundant statistical data of these two volumes augment their value and usefulness. But their main importance rests on other grounds. Crouzet dissects and rejects the oversimplified thesis that Napoleon's attempt to seal off Europe against British commerce failed for the simple reason that goods from England continued to enter as contraband. The actuality, as he reconstructs it with patient care, turns out to be more complex and more fascinating. The Berlin and Milan Decrees (1806-1807) cut British exports to Europe from some twenty million (1805) to fourteen

million pounds (1808). Jefferson's embargo cut British exports to the United States even more sharply, from twelve million (1807) to five million pounds (1808). Yet Britain's total exports remained close to fifty million pounds throughout these years and in 1809 leaped to 66 million.

Obviously British exporters found other markets, and the speed with which they did so demonstrated their flexibility and enterprise. English trade with Latin America, for instance, rose twentyfold in three years. In the "boom" year 1809, when Napoleon was distracted by the Spanish revolt and the Austrian war, British exports to Europe reached 27 million pounds, almost double the 1808 figure. But by 1811, when the continental blockade had been tightened again, shipments to Europe fell to eighteen million pounds and total British exports to 44 million. Inflation, riots, and unemployment became a serious threat to British stability and might have produced grave results if the decline in trade had continued. Napoleon's disastrous Russian venture in 1812 ended his ability to enforce his system.

The conclusion Crouzet draws is that Napoleon was correct in believing that a sharp and sustained reduction in exports could undermine the British economy. His failure lay in his inability to maintain the blockade consistently. He also underestimated the flexibility of British business enterprise and the compensatory effect of opening other markets. His system did damage the British economy, producing genuine crises in 1808 and in 1810-1811. Capital seeking quick profits was largely diverted, in the decade 1803-1813, from factory building to agriculture. But the British credit structure failed to collapse despite a sevenfold increase in the national debt.

Ithaca, New York

GEOFFREY BRUUN

CULTURE AND SOCIETY, 1780-1950. By *Raymond Williams*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. xx, 363. \$5.00.)

WHAT are the twentieth-century connotations of the word "culture"? A prominent Nazi leader remarked that he drew his revolver every time he heard it. Reaction in England and America has tended to be both less violent and more sympathetic. This does not mean that no differences of opinion exist. Some people, appalled by forests of television aerials, rock-and-roll, and "The News of the World," wholly and necessarily dissociate the word from the age of the masses and put the cultural banner into the hands of those few remaining choice and discriminating spirits who can alone attempt to hold it aloft. Others, like Mr. Williams, feel that a derogatory equation of "masses" with "mob" is unjustified; and that the possibility of a common culture still exists and is worth striving for. He has written his important book from this conviction.

The organizing principle of this work is the proposition that the idea of culture, and the word itself in its general modern uses, came into English thinking

in the period of the Industrial Revolution. Thus, in effect, it is both an account and an interpretation of responses in thought and feeling to changes in English society by men of letters ranging in time from Burke and Cobbett to Eliot and Orwell. Under the impact of the Industrial Revolution, and to a large extent as a protest against it, "culture" came in the nineteenth century increasingly to represent the separation of certain moral and intellectual activities from society as a whole. It was held at the same time to be both a court of judgment over that society and a mitigating alternative to it.

"Culture" came to embody certain human values and capacities that the new industrial and commercial civilization seemed to be threatening and destroying. By means of a brilliant analysis of the ideas of some of the leading English nineteenth-century thinkers and writers—the romantics, the utilitarians, Carlyle, the industrial novelists, Newman and Arnold, Pugin, Ruskin, Morris, Mallock, Pater and Wilde, Gissing and the Fabians—Williams demonstrates that incisive criticism of that new civilization in the name of culture came alike from the radical and conservative sides of the political spectrum. The tragedy was that many of the critics ended with a disjunction of the idea of culture from English society as a whole, unable to find the material for the cultural process either in contemporary society or in an order transcending that society.

This was the troublesome legacy they bequeathed to our own century, and in chapters dealing with Hulme, D. H. Lawrence, Tawney, Eliot, I. A. Richards, F. R. Leavis, the Marxists, and Orwell, the author shows that we are still wrestling with it, thus far without success. One may or may not agree with Williams' passionately stated thesis concerning the need for and the likelihood of a common culture. On that point this reviewer must range himself on the side of the skeptics. But there is no doubt at all that here is one of those rare books that shed genuinely new light on the social and intellectual history of England in the past and the present centuries.

Harvard University

JOHN CLIVE

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. Volume III, THE EMPIRE-COMMONWEALTH, 1870-1919. Edited by *E. A. Benians*, *Sir James Butler*, and *C. E. Carrington*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xxi, 948. \$19.50.)

At long last *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* is completed. The first installment of this massive cooperative work appeared thirty years ago. It is well to remember that the first three books are survey volumes, while Volumes IV-VIII are histories of British India, Canada and Newfoundland, Australia and New Zealand, and South Africa. All of these latter works appeared before the second volume, *The Empire, 1783-1870*, was published in 1940. Of the original board of editors only Mr. Benians had a share in the production of this conclud-

ing volume. Before his death in 1952 he completed two illuminating chapters: "The Empire in the New Age, 1870-1919" and "Finance, Trade and Communications, 1870-1895."

In the book under review fourteen British historians record in nineteen chapters the significant events, problems, and policies of fifty crowded years in British Empire history. This exciting period saw radical changes in intrainperial relations, and the mounting international tension that culminated in World War I. Several of the book's contributors give special attention to the activities of foreign rivals who were also potential enemies. Among other important topics treated in detail are imperial expansion and imperial defense, the activities of pressure groups interested in imperial problems, changes in the British attitude toward overseas colonies, World War I and its aftermath, and the advance toward equality with the mother country of the self-governing colonies. The authors generally seek to present issues in their imperial context, but because until 1914 Britain's dominance in the field of international relations was so complete, a goodly share of the volume might be labeled a history of Britain's foreign policy.

The years 1885, 1895, and 1914 are important chronological division points. Among the topics considered in separate chapters are Anglo-American relations, 1870-1914; the Empire at war, 1914-1918; the peace treaties of 1918-1921; and "The Colonial Office, 1801-1925." An excellent classified bibliography of 146 large, closely printed pages provides invaluable help to students of British imperial history.

The volume is well edited, the repetitions are few, and most of the authors are refreshingly objective in discussing issues of the period that aroused sharp controversies. Except in the general elections of 1880, 1900, and 1906, problems of overseas empire seldom obtruded upon British politics. But the bitter fight over home rule for Ireland had noticeable repercussions overseas, and the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902, was hotly debated not only in Britain but in Australia and Canada as well.

The term anticolonialism, which formerly was bandied about a good deal by writers on British imperial history, has now fallen into disuse. As Benians sagely remarked, it represented an opinion, never a policy. To be sure, in the 1870's the Liberals more than the Conservatives considered the British Empire territorially sated, and as might be expected, Disraeli and Gladstone disagreed on basic principles of colonial government. The former deplored the fact that responsible government with "no strings attached" had been bestowed upon the colonies, while the latter believed that "freedom and voluntaryism" provided the best means for the preservation of the Empire. Dominion action in 1914 splendidly vindicated Gladstone. Before the end of the nineteenth century both parties had divided over imperial issues. The Conservatives had extended self-government overseas and encouraged the federation of colonies that soon claimed equal status with the mother country, while the Liberals had acquiesced in imperial expansion. Joseph Cham-

berlain, an erstwhile radical, became the most ardent imperialist of the period when he was Colonial Secretary, 1895-1903, and leading Liberals supported him on the South African issue.

The many strands of Empire history, 1870-1919, are traced with varying degrees of competence and skill in this volume. Some of the authors have made good use of the wealth of material available in British archives, while others have relied mainly on accounts in books based on the documents that the British government has allowed to be printed. The time lag between completion of the manuscripts for some chapters and their publication may account for the omission of many valuable recent monographs that should have been used and cited in footnotes. There are errors, but few are serious.

The reviewer has found those chapters dealing with World War I and the early postwar years truly excellent. In his judgment the activities of the many pro-Empire propagandist organizations should have been given more consideration, and the discussions of colonial and imperial conferences of the period are inadequate. But in a treatise that covers such a multitude of events, of course there must be omissions. This volume joins its predecessors in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* as a storehouse of information and a very valuable contribution to British imperial history.

University of Wisconsin

PAUL KNAPLUND

ECONOMIC ELEMENTS IN THE *PAX BRITANNICA*: STUDIES IN BRITISH FOREIGN TRADE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Albert H. Imlah*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 224. \$6.00.)

STUDENTS of international economics as well as of nineteenth-century Britain will find this book valuable for the fresh evidence with which it buttresses generally accepted history. By well-defined and cautious methods (which this reviewer cannot judge) the author revises and supplements his earlier statistical findings on British imports and reexports before 1853, on Britain's income from shipping, business services, and foreign investments, and on the terms of trade for the period. He devotes the heart of his book to the construction of a statistical series concerning those basic elements in the economic relations of Great Britain. Flanking these highly technical chapters, his opening chapter summarizes with brilliance the distinctive elements in the *Pax Britannica* and his two final chapters discuss the failure of protectionism and the achievements of free trade in the light of his laboriously assembled statistics. The appendix contains a review of the Volume Series of Schlote and of the Board of Trade and five long statistical tables.

The carefully qualified figures bring out a new and fuller picture of Britain's economic development and its bearing on the maintenance of peace in the century

between Waterloo and August, 1914. Cast as the mediator of Europe by the settlement at Vienna, Britain sought a peace through economic policies that not only benefitted her own people but increased the prosperity of other nations sufficiently to allay temporarily the causes for major international friction. Her high protectionism in the decades after the French wars gave place to free trade not because she needed wider markets for a surplus of manufactures—actually she had grappled with a surplus of imports until 1845 and continued to do so throughout the century—but because it became evident to statesmen and, gradually, to the people that protectionism, in holding back the further potential growth of her expanding trade, was causing ill will and retaliatory measures in other nations, and discontent and class bitterness among her increasing population. Her reexport trade did not thrive under protectionism. And even her all-important invisible earnings had failed to gain in sufficient proportion to offset the deficits in the merchandizing trade.

Britain saved herself through her experiment with free trade. Her step-by-step reduction of duties, and her abolition of the Navigation Acts with the compensatory revival of the income tax between 1842 and 1860 were accompanied by phenomenal economic growth, which brought a higher standard of living and relative harmony to her people. Other nations were thus encouraged to reduce their trade barriers, and world trade flourished under British leadership until 1873. Britain adhered with conviction to free trade during the great depression of 1873–1898 when business slowed down and prices fell despite a return to protectionism in many countries. She again experienced rapid growth in trade volume and, owing to the improvement in prices, a more rapid rise in trade values between 1898 and 1913, when economic nationalism and militarism were enveloping Europe. All this material is well organized and viewed in the light of general national and international developments of the century. A section on British agriculture and one on national security in relation to free trade are of especial interest.

Washington, D. C.

GRACE FOX

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Civil Series).

Edited by *Sir Keith Hancock*. MANPOWER: A STUDY OF WAR-TIME POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION. By *H. M. D. Parker*. 1957. Pp. xviii, 535. \$7.46 postpaid. LABOUR IN THE MUNITIONS INDUSTRIES. By *P. Inman*. 1957. Pp. xv, 461. \$6.53 postpaid. (London: H. M. Stationery Office and Longmans, Green and Company; distrib. by British Information Services, New York.)

THE British war economy achieved results in its mobilization and utilization of the British civilian population during World War II that far surpassed the Nazi German record, but of which the general and scholarly public have not been

adequately informed. Now we have two volumes on this subject, each written with unusual mastery of the primary sources, sensitivity to social and personal factors, and balanced judgment on highly controversial issues. Both Mr. Parker and Mrs. Inman write with a clarity and liveliness that will hold the interest of any reader who has the slightest curiosity about their themes. The first volume deals with the total resources of manpower in the United Kingdom and their use. The responsibility for making and implementing policy decisions on the allocation of British men and women among the fighting services, civil defense, and industry and for developing manpower-budgeting techniques rested with the Ministry of Labour and National Service, under War Cabinet direction. Parker, an important Ministry of Labour official during the war, brings out very well the indispensable contribution of Ernest Bevin as Minister of Labour to the unification of the British people and the full mobilization of the nation's manpower under the unified direction of a single department of state. After a review of the phoney-war frustration, he gives a chronological account of the decisions on, and mechanisms for, increasing the working force and allocating the available numbers according to the urgency of need from May, 1940, to May, 1945. He concludes the first half of his book with a fine statement on the government's reconstruction plans and resettlement schemes. In the second half of the volume he analyzes with much skill such important questions as the remarkable mobilization of women, of professional and scientific workers, of boys and girls; the training of workers, the welfare of the industrial worker, wages, conditions of employment, and industrial disputes. In conclusion the author contrasts the high degree of efficiency with which manpower supply and demand were assessed from 1942 to 1945 with the rudimentary, haphazard estimates of the first two years of the war.

Mrs. Inman centers her volume on manpower as a factor of production within the munitions industries, including shipbuilding, which were controlled during World War II by the Ministry of Supply, the Admiralty, and the Ministry of Aircraft Production. She sketches the general labor policies that Parker has treated in such detail. But Mrs. Inman gives a wealth of valuable detail on problems of the engineering and shipbuilding industries on which Parker can only touch. In Part I Mrs. Inman relates how the labor force was built up for the work of the Supply Departments and the problems of dilution, training, etc., that this involved. She reveals the special problems in labor supply that each department and industry had to face owing to differences in the timing of programs, in the types of labor required, and in the conditions of work. I found intriguing her treatment of the way in which unskilled labor for heavy work in the metal industries was obtained from Eire, prisoners of war, and other sources. She devotes Part II to describing the government's efforts to improve labor welfare and the methods of utilizing labor. My chief regret is that Mrs. Inman has no final chapter in which she draws together all the threads of her volume. Another omission was

an understandable failure to provide a detailed comparison of the relative efficiency of the British war experience in labor mobilization and utilization with the Canadian, American, German, and Japanese experiences. Fortunately, this deficiency can be remedied by recourse to Clarence D. Long, *The Labor Force under Changing Income and Employment* (1958), and Jerome B. Cohen, *Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction* (1949). Although some earlier studies on British manpower in World War II were available before Parker and Inman published their volumes, none of these can rival in scope, cumulative detail, and readability these two notable contributions to scholarship.

Rutgers University

SIDNEY RATNER

COMMONWEALTH PERSPECTIVES. By *Nicholas Mansergh et al.* [Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center Publications, Number 8.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Commonwealth-Studies Center. 1958. Pp. viii, 214. \$4.50.)

THE present volume from the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center consists of seven interpretative essays. The authors are two Englishmen and four Americans.

Professor Nicholas Mansergh of St. John's College, Cambridge, contributes two essays: "Commonwealth Membership" and "Commonwealth Foreign Policies, 1945-1956." These introduce and set a high tone for the symposium. In his first essay Mansergh deals with the difficult problem of membership in the Commonwealth. He traces the numerous conferences, reports, and the attempts to define, limit, or modify status or membership. Most of this reviews familiar ground and leads its reader very easily and comprehensively through rather involved constitutional procedures and theories. In his second essay he surveys the problem facing the British dominions in determining or developing their foreign policies after the attainment of full international sovereignty in 1931.

Robert R. Wilson writes on "The Commonwealth and the Law of Nations." This is a valuable, brief summary of the Commonwealth's position in international law. Possibly his essay's most convenient feature is the part that treats and traces the rise of the dominion nationality laws, from the first—that of Canada in 1946—to that of Ghana in 1957. A basic aspect of this development is the provision of the legal ground by which a citizen of each nation of the Commonwealth may himself be recognized by international law as participating in the benefits of such association.

The modern discipline of demography, as applied to the Commonwealth, finds expression in "The Commonwealth: Demographic Dimensions; Implications" by Joseph J. Spengler. Inaugurating his essay with an examination of population factors in the United Kingdom, he examines similar and homogeneous aspects in the principally British countries of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. South

Africa may be regarded as a bridge or transitional area between those parts of the Commonwealth in which the population is principally non-British and non-European. Spengler's able presentation and condensation of a vast amount of demographic information reinforces one reason for the continued existence of the Commonwealth. Its strength lies not in sentiment, not in constitutional ties, not in a common ethnic origin, but in its having become a mutual benefit association.

In "The Emergence of Ghana" James L. Godfrey provides a clear example of the process by which a British crown colony becomes a sovereign, self-governing nation and thereby achieves, of its own volition, or possibly request, membership in the Commonwealth. One can only marvel at this process. It has been inherent in the crown colony system, especially the potential of the legislative council. It is, as Godfrey asserts, "a tribute to the efficiency of the British policy of matching political power to the advancing maturity in colonial areas."

The final two essays deal with social and economic rather than constitutional and political topics. B. U. Ratchford surveys "The Development of Health and Welfare Programs in Australia: A Case Study," and Brinley Thomas writes on "The Evolution of the Sterling Area and Its Prospects." Both are excellent studies of detail. Professor Ratchford traces various periods in the rise of Australian social legislation from 1900 to the attainment of today's welfare state. He concludes that Australia has almost reached its "critical area" in the proportion of national income that may be expended for social and welfare programs. Thomas indicates the rise of the pound sterling as a medium of international currency and exchange from the great days of England's nineteenth-century dominance to the problems of the post-World War I period and of the present. It is a valuable and clear presentation of the historic role of the pound in international finance and currency regulation.

University of Colorado

JAMES G. ALLEN

SURVEY OF BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS. PROBLEMS OF
WARTIME CO-OPERATION AND POST-WAR CHANGE, 1939-1952.

By *Nicholas Mansergh*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 469. \$10.10.)

THIS fourth volume in the series *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs* continues the work of comprehensive scholarship notably begun by Sir Keith Hancock and admirably maintained by Professor Mansergh in his volume published in 1952, *Problems of External Policy, 1931-1939*. Taken together, the whole set thus far constitutes the best brief library available on the complex history of the Commonwealth of Nations—a less than one-foot shelf. Taken by itself, the volume is well up to the high standard of the series in range, lucidity, and balance.

In three parts, the book deals with the Commonwealth at war, with postwar

changes in its composition, and with the problems that it met in the postwar world, both in external and internal relationships. Above all, it depicts the effective cohesion of the Commonwealth in wartime, its elasticity in comprehending new Asian nations, and its capacity still to adjust to conditions of life in the present world, where the old underlying guarantees of British power have largely lapsed for its members, and where regionalism no less than nationalism draws them away from any central focus. Yet, as Mansergh presents the story—in a manner as convincing as it is calm—this does far more than disguise the decline of the British Empire, far more than inflate an already tenuous organization until it has no more substance than a soap bubble. Instead, it is the record of the persistence, and indeed new weaving, of connections between nations that despite widely varied interests choose to remain in some association in this bleakest of bleak ages.

Since this book is a survey covering a vast terrain, it is impossible to do more than note a few random points that emerge from its pages. For example, to the recognized fact that the dominions of the “old” Commonwealth perhaps stood highest in world affairs in 1940–1941, after France had collapsed and before the Soviet Union and the United States had entered the war, the author adds a significant point regarding their military contributions: “It was the presence of Canadian forces in the United Kingdom, of Australian, New Zealand, South African, and Indian forces in the Middle East, comprising as they did so large a proportion of the trained forces of the British Commonwealth after the evacuation from Dunkirk, that ensured survival.”

Then, in commenting on the apparent paradox that in the same month of 1949 Ireland broke its final ties with the Commonwealth to become a republic (a step that had previously been considered incompatible with Commonwealth allegiance), while India was accepted as a republican member by the April Declaration, Mansergh makes clear that the essential difference lay not in any realm of constitutional theory but in political intent.

Finally, one might note an illuminating discussion on the blurring of monarchism and republicanism in the “post-Statute of Westminster” Commonwealth—on the acceptance of the Queen in republics like India, Pakistan, or Ceylon as a symbol of association, and on the decline of the role of the crown in government in “nonresident” monarchies like Canada, Australia, or New Zealand. The fact, moreover, that republics became fully acceptable as Commonwealth members has interesting connotations in South Africa for the republican shibboleth of Afrikaner nationalism.

It should be emphasized again that this work is a survey, based essentially on printed public documents, memoirs, or secondary studies. It is a preliminary investigation in a field that has yet to produce its detailed works of basic research. But it will be a long time, surely, before this well-conceived, judicious, and urbane volume will be surpassed.

University of Toronto

J. M. S. CARELESS

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND: A STUDY OF DÁIL ÉIREANN 1919-48. By J. L. McCracken. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 229. \$4.80.)

THE prospective reader not put off by a forbidding title will find that Professor McCracken has written an interesting and much-needed study of the origins and development of the Dáil Éireann. The author demonstrates that, since from 1919 to 1948 the Dáil was the "constant element" in the Irish constitution and the "most important institution of the state," one must know the history of the Dáil in order to understand the workings of representative government in Ireland. Although this book will be of particular value to the reader interested in Irish history, it should find a wider audience among those seeking a case history in the development of political institutions.

Within the limitations of the Anglo-Irish treaty, those who drafted the Free State constitution were at liberty to experiment. The initial result was a textbook constitution, providing for initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and other currently popular constitutional devices. The proposed executive was an intricate combination of the British and Swiss systems, with a president selected by the Dáil and an executive council of parliamentary and extern ministers, the latter to be chosen for specialized knowledge. The president and the parliamentary ministers were to be collectively responsible to the Dáil; the extern ministers would hold office for the entire term. All real power was concentrated in the Dáil, "a genuinely deliberative assembly in which each measure would be analysed on its merits," with the "maximum of individual liberty for the deputies." The upper chamber, part of the system of safeguards for the unionist minority imposed upon the new government by the British, had limited powers but was a source of dissatisfaction to many members of the Dáil.

By 1948 the intricacies of Irish politics had occasioned extensive modifications of the system. Contrary to the plans of the original constitution makers, an Irish legislature evolved that was quite similar to its British counterpart. Proportional representation led naturally to numerous parties, but the treaty controversy precipitated a consolidation that led to a virtual two-party system. This development, with the failure of the extern minister plan, created an executive council resembling a cabinet of the British type, with a clearly recognizable prime minister at its head. Logically, with the growth of the cabinet system, the Dáil became "very much the instrument of the government it had created." A prolonged struggle led to loss of all effective power in the upper chamber, which became in theory a body of expert opinion but in practice a refuge for tired politicians.

In the organization and presentation of the material, this book resembles the volumes in the Studies in Irish History series. After establishing the necessary background, the author continues with chapters devoted to particular aspects of the development of the Dáil. An excellent bibliography is appended. Some readers may be surprised to find the discussion of the role of the Roman Catholic Church

in Irish politics reduced to a few paragraphs, but in general this book is to be recommended. McCracken's efforts meet the high standards we have come to expect of Irish historical scholarship in recent years.

University of Tennessee

GALEN BROEKER

LYON DE L'ENCYCLOPÉDIE AU PRÉROMANTISME. Volumes I and II.

By *Louis Trénard*. [Collection des Cahiers d'Histoire publiée par les Universités de Clermont, Lyon, Grenoble; Histoire sociale des idées.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. Pp. lxii, 377; 389-821. 3,000 fr. the set.)

THIS two-volume work on the intellectual development of France's second largest city is also a valuable addition to the growing literature on the revolutionary era outside Paris and to the history of the French bourgeoisie. Trénard does not raise many questions that would interest the specialist in the period, yet he furnishes a wealth of new information for the answers. He has omitted the role of the Lyonnais workers, who played little part in the intellectual history. The forty-page bibliography is an invaluable guide to archives and to recent monographs; it will be useful beyond the scope of these volumes.

The subject is treated in two periods, 1770-1794 and 1795-1815. Volume I contains a detailed analysis of the period before 1789 and an overly brief treatment of 1789-1794, and Volume II, the Directory and Napoleonic periods. For each period Trénard describes all phases of philosophy, religion, science, and the arts, and their manifestations in libraries, education, academies, Masonic lodges, schools, the press, theater, public fetes, and art. Through the volumes the special characteristics of Lyon and relationships to the rest of France and to Europe are presented. The Lyonnais bourgeoisie exhibited strong regional traits and, despite a penchant for applied science, strong mysticism.

Trénard begins with a description of the bourgeoisie—the industrial and merchant elite who were leaders of the intelligentsia in the absence of a hereditary nobility. Their intellectual horizon and economic interests extended far beyond Lyon to the southwest and to neighboring foreign states. Trénard underlines the influence of German Illuminism on prerevolutionary Lyon, and of German pre-romanticism on Napoleonic culture. The prerevolutionary economic crisis began in Lyon with the accession of Louis XVI and was accentuated during the general crisis of 1787-1789. During the twenty years before 1789, the diverse currents of the Enlightenment were all illustrated at Lyon, and as 1789 approached, ferment and diversity increased. Trénard confirms submergence of intellectual exploration by daily problems during the Revolution, but also notes important developments of mysticism, utopianism, and a temporary revolutionary religion. The optimism of the eighteenth century gave way to resignation and pessimism only after the purge of 1793-1794. Chapter VIII on "Le Climat terroriste" is an invaluable explanation of the severe repression of anti-Parisian Jacobinism. Increased economic

difficulties led the bourgeois to federalism and to collaboration with *émigré* and local royalism. Quarrels among prorevolutionaries further divided the Lyonnais. Terrorism was first used by federalist-royalists, then by Hébertists, who were strong at Lyon, and finally by Jacobins sent from Paris. From then on, the Lyonnais were submissive outwardly to the central authority, but defensive about their own importance. A Gallican regional Catholic revival and preoccupation with science and technology related to Lyon's industries prepared the background for Napoleonic classicism and preromanticism. Judges, lawyers, merchants, and those who had acquired *biens nationaux* supported Napoleon, but increased imperial taxation and renewed economic crisis alienated the bourgeoisie.

The historian of ideas will find a challenge in Trénard's delineation of Lyonnais thought between 1770 and 1815. Equally important to the reviewer is his treatment of its manifestations, especially through Masonry, the press, and the theater. Although Masonry shared the humanism and humanitarianism of all French Masonry, the innumerable lodges, the development of Scottish rites, and mysticism, especially *Martinisme*, made Lyon a capital of Freemasonry. Also outstanding and new is the description of the rapid and complex growth of Lyonnais newspapers after 1789 and the impact of censorship, a valuable contribution both to local history and to the history of the press. Trénard has presented a very important history of ideas from the thought of the Enlightenment to "the rejuvenation of humanism" and "the triumph of the man of sentiment."

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

HISTORICAL PESSIMISM IN THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT. By Henry Vyverberg. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 36.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 253. \$5.50.)

A REVIEWER of Dr. Vyverberg's illuminating study might well begin by paying tribute to a provocative, stylistically engaging, and scholarly work. He could go on to say that the thesis it develops is perhaps less novel and paradoxical than it appears at first sight and that the author's conclusions will certainly be contested, perhaps more in details than in the whole.

Briefly put, the argument runs somewhat as follows: While the eighteenth-century belief in progress was real enough, scholars have persistently overestimated its significance. That belief was neither the single focus of the Enlightenment nor its simple logical consummation. An undercurrent ran through the age, an undercurrent of thought "of a depth and force seldom appreciated." That undercurrent the author denominates "historical pessimism." Within it he places three conceptions of history which were in varying degrees hostile to the belief in progress as a descriptive analysis of man's temporal existence: the movement of history as decadence, as cycle, and as flux.

To test the genesis and development of those ideas Vyverberg begins by ex-

aming representative thinkers of the seventeenth century. He finds that not one of them unreservedly made a case for pessimism, not one flatly defended historical optimism. During the eighteenth century there were of course spokesmen for progress, Turgot and Condorcet the most forceful; many more expressed in their writings the antiprogress principles that had been adumbrated earlier. Among them were Buffon, Grimm, Marmontel, and Raynal. The diffusion of such ideas was not restricted either to the religious *antiphilosophes* or to minor writers of more progressive persuasion. It infiltrated into the thinking of the titans. Montesquieu was "pessimism in moderation." In Voltaire, while there were baffling complexities and perplexing inconsistencies, there was certainly no out-and-out belief in progress. With Diderot there were complexity, catholic interests, divergent strivings and struggles, as every student has noted, but "ultimately [he was] engulfed in an inclusive view of inescapable historical flux."

With those men and with briefer analyses of Linguet, Sade, and Holbach, the study ends. It ends with the author reaffirming that the Enlightenment did retain its generous belief in progress and acted upon it; insisting, however, that resistance to that belief was no accident: "It was firmly rooted in the thought of the age."

That the particular aspects of this work and the evaluation of the men it treats will be challenged is clear. But the care and the skill with which the author makes his case are patent. This small thought-provoking book, despite its inclusiveness, is no premature synthesis. The author makes no dogmatic and definitive assertions. It is a valuable chart of a terrain for others to explore in detail.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

THE CROWD IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *George Rudé*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 267. \$5.60.)

In this important book George Rudé has embodied many years of research on eighteenth-century crowds in France and in Great Britain. He has mastered the appropriate literature, and gone to the archives, notably to surviving documents of the Parisian *sections* and to those of official inquiries after certain crucial *journées* of the Revolution. After a brief introductory section on eighteenth-century crowds, he goes on to succinct but well-nourished analyses of the role of crowds (not, he insists, "mobs") in all the great crises from Bastille Day to Vendémiaire. In all, because of his use of new sources, as well as of the specific set of questions his approach suggests, he adds to our knowledge and to our understanding of the Revolution. In a final section entitled "The Anatomy of the Revolutionary Crowd" he gives—though always with the caution of a professional historian—a kind of retrospective sociology or social psychology of these crowds, their composition, motives, their role in generating revolutionary activity. A final suggestive chapter, "The 'Revolutionary Crowd' in History," draws on British as well as French experience, and concludes that at least in Western Europe and

America the trade-union, the new weapon of the strike, and other variables had worked to make just the kind of revolutionary crowd he is studying a thing of the past by mid-nineteenth century.

Rudé maintains that the evidence, especially evidence as to social and economic status of most of these crowds, disposes finally of the rhetoric of Taine and other alarmist antirevolutionary writers: these crowds were not composed of the scum of the earth, vagabonds, good-for-nothing rascals, the dregs of humanity, not even of the unemployed, but rather of the more active of the *menu peuple*, artisans, craftsmen, with a sprinkling of bourgeois and "intellectuals." They seem on the whole not motivated by immediate desires for pillaging or other direct private gain, and the police reports note relatively few cases of rioters found with stolen objects or money. Furthermore, the evidence does not confirm the exaggerated antirevolutionary view that there were important elements of hired agitators in these crowds, though Rudé grants that there was in the early days probably an "Orleanist plot." All in all, this is a very balanced account, not unduly simplifying, not attributing these most complex forms of social action to any form of one-way causation, not even to that tempting form, hero-villain causation.

Rudé, at bottom friendly to the great Revolution, shares the tendency of modern French republican historians since Mathiez and Lefebvre to emphasize the role of economic stress in bringing the *menu peuple* out for direct action. His suggestion that in fact much of these eighteenth-century direct actions are rough equivalents of the modern strike is an interesting one. He is not doctrinaire in his use of evidence from economic history, and he does see that something other than economic deprivation or "cramp" is apparently needed to generate revolutionary activity, even if that something is no more than the ideas of the insane Lord George Gordon. To this reviewer, Chapter xiv on the generation of revolutionary activity, the relation of leaders to led, the organization of these crowds, the old problem of degree of spontaneity, the motivation of the crowds—all this needs expansion and development, perhaps a somewhat less basically "rationalist" social psychology than a heavy reliance on man's most rational activity, the economic, usually affords. But we should be grateful for the book we have; there is nothing quite like it.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

LES SANS-CULOTTES PARISIENS EN L'AN II: MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE ET GOUVERNEMENT RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE 2 JUIN 1793-9 THERMIDOR AN II. By *Albert Soboul*. (Paris: Librairie Clavreuil, 1958. Pp. 1168.)

THIS learned tome by Albert Soboul is of the tiny category of French theses that have made permanent impressions on historiography. The period spanned by this volume, that is, from the fall of the Girondins to the fall of the Robespierriests,

was crucial in the history of the Revolution. Georges Lefebvre's verdict that it marks a turning point in the writings on the French Revolution is a just measure of its worth. In the first place, it confirms, with regard to the sans-culottes, the conclusions he had come to concerning the peasants. The urban movement, like the rural, according to Soboul, was independent of the bourgeoisie both in origin, methods, and aspirations. In the second place, it casts a shaft of light on the boldest, lowly elements of the Revolution that shaped its character during the most trying year of its history. In the third place, it corrects conceptions, bequeathed to us by such great historians as Mortimer-Ternaux, Michelet, and Mathiez. The first had methodically run down the sans-culottes. The second had regarded their pressures on the revolutionary government as volcanic eruptions whose *Primum movens* was a mystery to him. The third, Mathiez, so exalted the role of Robespierre that he underestimated the social and economic significance of the Enragés and Hébertists. In the fourth place, it has given the coup de grâce to Daniel Guérin's thesis that the sans-culottes were the advance guard of the revolutionary proletariat of the nineteenth century, and by implication, a modern factory proletariat. Soboul proves beyond dispute that they were instead an *arrière-garde*, defending traditional economic practices. The mainsprings of their action, he maintains, can be understood properly only in terms of their background, their social and economic status, and their criteria of the good life. What we have then is a substantial work in an area of the Revolution that comparatively few pioneers dared enter.

Soboul's charting of this area commands our admiration. As far as is known, he has not missed a single collection of unpublished papers, nor has he ignored pertinent published material, as witnessed by the lengthy bibliography. Apart from the heavily documented text, there are almost forty pages of appendixes on the political organization of the Parisian sans-culottes, on the social and political structure of the capital's forty-eight sections, and finally, wherever possible, on the agenda and balloting at meetings of the popular societies. The industry and patience the appendixes represent may be better appreciated if it is borne in mind that their mass of statistical data was derived from the still extensive archival remains that had escaped destruction.

What were the sans-culottes? Soboul points out a number of their distinguishing characteristics. They could of course be singled out by their garments, principally the long trousers. But more peculiar were their creeds. They had strong convictions on social equality and on an existing antagonism between them and aristocrats, a term that encompassed all their enemies; they hated the rich in general and the *rentier* in particular; they evaluated the Revolution much as Babeuf did later, that is, a war between rich and poor. Their object was to restrict the right of property, to protect the small owner and to secure the right to labor. Bread was central to their program, so that it was arid in point of theory.

The sans-culottes were not a class, but a social category, consisting of shop-

keepers, artisans, and wage earners. The sprinkling of persons higher in the economic scale was insufficient to dilute their composition. This composition was a source of discord, of imprecision in social views and in courses of conduct.

Assessed with the wisdom of hindsight, we may say that they could not permanently impose their way of life on the French nation. But in the balance sheet of their role in the Revolution, high credit must be given them, as Soboul does, for having advanced and solidified its bourgeois gains.

New York City

SAMUEL BERNSTEIN

STUDIES EN STRIJDSCHRIFTEN. By P. 'Geyl. [Historische Studies, uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Number 11.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1958. Pp. vi, 544. Fl. 22.50.)

PETER Geyl, who until his retirement in 1957 taught history at the University of Utrecht, is the nestor of Holland's living historians. He needs no introduction to the readers of the *American Historical Review*; he is well known in this country for his criticism of Toynbee's *A Study of History*, for his *Napoleon For and Against*, and for the lectures delivered at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and at other American universities. In this volume he has assembled articles and addresses that deal exclusively with Netherlands history. They form an impressive testimony to the wide range of his knowledge and to the youthful vigor that enlivens even the latest of his polemical writings. Geyl is a born fighter and a courageous one. No widely recognized authority abashes him into silence. He has challenged Pirenne, Fruin, Colenbrander, Toynbee, and has returned from the combat with honors. There are several *strijdschriften* among this collection, and in the period that has elapsed since they came from his pen they have not lost a trace of their original freshness.

The story of the Dutch revolt against Spain as it used to be taught in my young days has been drastically revised, thanks to Geyl's convincing demonstration that the schoolbooks taught a myth, not history. There are few historians left in the Netherlands who have not come around to Geyl's point of view. He challenged the theory that the cleavage between Hollanders and Flemings was an unavoidable effect of a difference in their natures. The military events of the late sixteenth century were the cause of it. The Spanish troops under Parma were able to reduce the southern Netherlands to their former obedience to the king of Spain and the provinces north of the water barrier of the great rivers were able to keep the Spaniards out. Geographical conditions decided the issue of the eighty-years' war. That the Dutch in Belgium are Catholics and those in Holland predominantly Protestant is not the result of temperamental differences. In the south, after Parma's triumph, the Church acquired a monopoly; those who refused to rejoin it had to leave the country and settled in the north, where the Calvinists dominated a population that was still largely of the Roman faith. The successful out-

come of the revolt in the north tended to remove that inequality. Waverers saw wisdom in joining the powerful minority, and lukewarm Catholics with political ambitions left the Church in hope of joining the city fathers. Even so, the Catholics in Holland were never reduced to a negligible minority and still constitute a third of the present-day population of the Netherlands.

The articles are grouped in four categories. The problems of the revolt and the cleavage between Hollanders and Flemings are dealt with in the first; then follow aspects and personalities of the seventeenth century, including a discussion of the historical background of Dutch painting; the third group is concerned with conflicts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and the fourth presents the historian in the framework of his own period. Geyl is an able stylist. His volume of over five hundred pages is heavy to hold but light to digest. He knows how to discuss even an abstruse subject with precision and clarity.

Columbia University

ADRIAAN J. BARNOUW

GERMANY AFTER BISMARCK: THE CAPRIVI ERA, 1890-1894. By J. Alden Nichols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 404. \$7.50.)

THIS is the first full-scale treatment of Bismarck's successor as chancellor of the German Empire, and it seems unlikely that we shall ever need another. Mr. Nichols has not only exhausted the available printed sources and worked diligently in contemporary periodical and newspaper files, but he has brought his findings together in a readable account that covers every aspect of Caprivi's term of office and, in doing so, shows a mastery of the constitutional ambiguities of the imperial structure and a thorough understanding of the personal feuds that played so important a role in the politics of these years.

The latter gift has made it possible for the author to bring to life such long-dead issues as the Prussian school bill and Caprivi's army bill, which generated so much heat in their own time. The former has enabled him to explain the peculiar difficulties of all post-Bismarck governments, for, as Nichols rightly points out, since the real power in Germany was not located in the Reichstag and since all important questions were decided in struggles between Reich, Prussia, bureaucracy, court, and the ministries, the government had to maintain an official camarilla to maintain its position in the incessant *bellum omnium contra omnes*. This gave great scope for the talents of people like Holstein and Philip Eulenburg, but made it difficult for Caprivi to maintain control in policy matters.

Nichols sees Caprivi as a man confronted with a political situation that was insoluble by the only methods he was capable of employing. Opposed, because of his training and background, to anything in the nature of real liberalism or democracy, he tried to work toward "a single-party system of frock-coated totalitarianism," in which a bureaucratic government would attract popular support by

a nationalistic, middle-of-the-road policy and parliamentary support by the creation of a government party of "king's friends." He was doomed to defeat by his own political inexperience, by the antediluvian thought processes of Prussian conservatives, and, above all, by the shadow of the exiled Bismarck, who not only kept the parties in a turmoil, but exercised a continuing influence on the bureaucracy, the ministries, and even Caprivi himself, so that he could never escape the inhibiting effect of inherited Bismarckian teachings and precedents.

Princeton University

GORDON A. CRAIG

MACHIAVELLI AND THE RENAISSANCE. By *Federico Chabod*. Translated from the Italian by *David Moore*. With an introduction by *A. P. d'Entrèves*. (London: Bowes and Bowes; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xviii, 258. 30s.)

THE contents of this book are most adequately described by its title. Of the four essays that make up the volume, three are devoted to Machiavelli, and the fourth deals with general problems of the Renaissance period; a very useful bibliographical guide to recent works on the Italian Renaissance and Italian humanism is appended.

To the specialist, the volume contains nothing new. The four essays are translations and have previously appeared in Italian; their author is one of the chief Italian authorities on Renaissance history and whatever he writes is carefully studied by those working in the Renaissance field. This translation of a few selected essays by Chabod is most welcome, however, because it might spread acquaintance with Chabod's work beyond the narrow range of Renaissance specialists.

The selection will serve well as an introduction to what constitutes the particular character of Chabod's approach to Machiavelli and the Renaissance. To Chabod, the connection between the Italian political situation and Machiavelli's political thought is crucial. Machiavelli's concept of "the prince" is not a romantic construction but the legitimate result of the "lessons of events" offered by Italian history. In a world in which the gap between rural and urban life was steadily widening and in which both the feudal structure of the country and the guild organization of the commune was disintegrating, the ruler alone provided a center of attraction that could tie together the divergent social forces and create a politically effective organization. On this intuitively recognized fact, Machiavelli's imagination began to work and constructed the picture of the prince. I use purposely the terms "intuition" and "imagination" because they are central concepts of this interpretation of Machiavelli; according to Chabod, one should not expect from Machiavelli's writings a logical political system, free from contradictions, but a creative transformation of single empirical facts into generally applicable political insights. Whereas the first two essays develop these views chiefly in the form

of an introduction and commentary to *The Prince*, the third essay, somewhat misnamed "Machiavelli's Method and Style," surveys Machiavelli's entire career and works from this point of view. This third article was published thirty years after the preceding two essays, and whereas the latter show the youthfulness of their author by a slight tendency toward dogmatic statements, the former is a work of admirable balance and moderation. The last essay on "The Concept of the Renaissance" is distinguished by the same masterly maturity; its distinctions between medieval "realism" and Renaissance "realism," between the medieval use of the classics and the Renaissance revival of antiquity are sharply drawn and penetrating, and the whole essay is, in my opinion, the best available statement on what is still alive of Burckhardt's concept of the Renaissance.

In his introduction Passerin d'Entrèves provides a brief evaluation of Chabod's personality and scholarly achievements. His historical interests are by no means restricted to the intellectual history of the Renaissance; Chabod has done important work in the political and institutional history of sixteenth-century Italy, and, with the brilliant panoramic survey of European political life in the second part of the nineteenth century that represents the first volume of a *History of Italian Foreign Policy*, he has extended his interests into more recent history. It would not be the least of the merits of the volume under review if its publication would lead to increasing interest in the work of Chabod, who is one of the leading historians of our century.

Bryn Mawr College

FELIX GILBERT

NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI: STORIA DEL SUO PENSIERO POLITICO.

By Gennaro Sasso. [Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, Volume 10.] (Naples: the Institute. 1958. Pp. 504. L. 3,500.)

AFTER so many mutually exclusive interpretations of the "true" mind of Machiavelli, the most immediate tasks appear to be to comprehend each of Machiavelli's writings as a reaction to a concrete situation, and on this basis to trace the successive changes in his way of thinking. Nobody has done more in Italy for such a genetic approach than Federico Chabod, and from his school comes the first systematic "history of Machiavelli's thought" (only the late phase represented by the *Istorie Fiorentine* is not included), a penetrating and fundamental revision of a long-tilled field.

Preparatory to an exhaustive analysis of *The Prince*, Dr. Sasso discusses all the political letters, reports, and memoranda from the time of Machiavelli's labors for a Florentine *milizia* and of his wide participation in diplomatic missions. In every instance, the author's aim is to determine the contribution that accrues to the growth of the new political "logic" and "method" in consequence of Machiavelli's painful experience of both the helplessness of the Florentine city-republic and the workings of concentrated power in the unified French monarchy as well

as in the "new principedom" of the Borgia in central Italy. One of Sasso's principal findings is that in those early writings Machiavelli does not yet search for the causes of Italy's decadence, nor look for any *interpretazione storica* of the Florentine or Roman past, nor approach the idea (later, central in the *Discourses*) that republics, too, have a strength of their own in their ability to mobilize all popular energies. The problems on which his mind was centered at that time are well known from *The Prince* and from some kindred portions of the *Discourses*, such as the need of every state to have its own soldiers, the condemnation of any compromising *vie di mezzo*, and the conflict between *coscienza* and *necessità*. The story of the genesis of these and similar leitmotifs of Machiavelli's thought is of arresting interest; it proves that "Machiavellism" was not so much the upshot of the interstate relations of the Italian *quattrocento* as the child of the chaos and insecurity that followed the destruction of the microcosm of Renaissance Italy by the new great European powers.

The reconstruction, in the second half of the book, of the later course of Machiavelli's thought is ingenious and thorough, but may be less final. Sasso adheres to the conventional chronology according to which Machiavelli wrote the first eighteen chapters of the *Discourses* and subsequently *The Prince* in 1513, whereas the remainder of the *Discourses* is assumed to have been gradually composed during the years that followed, with the second and third book finished possibly not until the time of the *Arte della Guerra* and the *Vita di Castruccio Castracani*, about 1519-1520. In this light, as Sasso shows, the development of Machiavelli's thought appears not as a process of growth and expansion, but rather as one of contraction from a penetrating "power of historical comprehension" in the first eighteen chapters of the *Discourses* to "arbitrary" concentration upon "one single element," the role of native soldiers, in *The Prince*. Subsequently, in Books II and III of the *Discourses* and in the *Arte della Guerra*, the hope of the year 1513 for some kind of political regeneration has disappeared, and is replaced by a classicist belief that the present had gone wrong because it had not sufficiently followed the example of the ancients—an attitude called pessimistic chiefly in view of the Castruccio *Vita* from the same period, which sounds the melancholy note that man is a helpless victim to the whims of *Fortuna*.

To this reviewer, not only does a sudden contraction in 1513 of the range of Machiavelli's outlook seem little credible, but other assumptions indispensable for this reconstruction appear even more absurd. Since Sasso has conclusively shown that none of the broader views distinguishing *Discourses*, Book I from *The Prince* had ever made an appearance in Machiavelli's writings before 1513, how can one believe that a part of *Discourses*, Book I originated as early as 1513? Again, in order to maintain that by the time he composed *Discourses*, Books II and III and his *Arte*, Machiavelli had abandoned all faith in the Florentine republic, one must consider as "abstract," "utopian," and not quite serious the republican program in his *Discorso sopra il Riformare* of the same period (1519-1520)—a tour de

force to which Sasso, indeed, devotes a goodly part of his last chapter. Those who find these and other necessary suppositions for the proposed scheme unacceptable and prefer the more plausible solution, recently much discussed, that *The Prince* preceded the *Discourses* and the period in which Machiavelli was gradually to become a great historical thinker and pronounced advocate of the invigorating political role of republicanism, will necessarily judge that a number of pages in the second half of Sasso's study require modifications. But even within a changed pattern of Machiavelli's development during his later years, Sasso's keen and thought-provoking observations would not lose their significance.

Newberry Library

HANS BARON

THOUGHTS ON MACHIAVELLI. By *Leo Strauss*. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1958. Pp. 348. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Strauss gives us the crux of his thoughts on Machiavelli when he writes, "Books like *The Prince* and the *Discourses* do not reveal their full meaning as intended by the author unless one ponders over them 'day and night.' The reader who is properly prepared is bound to come across suggestions which refuse to be stated." Far from being clear and simple, as his successors thought them to be, Machiavelli's writings are elusive, and at times his silences are as important as his statements. Strauss holds that we must never surrender to the drift of Machiavelli's sentences without correlating them with the total scheme of the work under discussion, as well as with the sources he analyzes. This contention is based upon Machiavelli's own approach to reading, which was "nearer to the way the theologians of the past read the Bible than to our way of reading either Livy or the Bible." Such an analysis of Machiavelli's thought is continued over four long chapters, treating the relationship of *The Prince* to the *Discourses*, *The Prince* and the *Discourses* separately, and finally, Machiavelli's teachings.

It is suprising that despite this subtle approach to Machiavelli's works the author's conclusions are the same as those of men in past ages who found these books simple reading. For here, in contrast to modern scholarship, the distinction between Machiavelli and Machiavellism is eliminated. On the very first page of the book the author professes himself to be of the "old-fashioned" opinion that Machiavelli was a teacher of evil. In his concluding remarks he contrasts true philosophy, which "transcends the City," with Machiavelli's thought in which nothing suprapolitical is allowed and "beast man" becomes the symbol instead of "God man." Though this summary of the complex tapestry of ideas contained in the work is much foreshortened, it is clear that Strauss's approach is not only at variance with modern scholarship (no modern work on Machiavelli is cited), but that it is also based upon certain philosophical presuppositions.

Machiavelli is accused of "indescribable misuse" of Biblical teaching because, as Strauss believes, the Bible sets forth demands of morals and religion in their

purest and most intransigent form. But theologians did read the Bible the way Strauss himself tells us we should read Machiavelli, and what they found was not such a simplistic and absolute view. Machiavelli is thus contrasted with a philosophical absolute and not with what the Bible did mean to men within a historical context. By calling Machiavelli a blasphemer, the author states that he is merely calling a "spade a spade," though he will be accused by social scientists of being "culture conditioned." Instead he seems open to the charge of comparing Machiavelli to moral absolutes which are not historically warranted. In this sense the book contrasts with the Crocean school of Machiavelli studies, which believed that his greatness lay precisely in the discovery of the necessity and autonomy of politics beyond good and evil; that Machiavelli was aware of the tragic dilemma of his times. This meant that his thought could only be understood within the context of Florentine history.

There is hardly any trace of such a historical framework in this book. Machiavelli is seen against a background of classical thought, and little else. Gennaro Sasso's belief that Machiavelli used Roman history to demolish contemporary Florence is not reflected here, since Machiavelli's ideas are viewed exclusively from within the works themselves. Thus Strauss's Machiavelli is "new," indeed, "revolutionary," because he changed the direction of inherited classical thought; but just how new Machiavelli might be within the context of medieval Renaissance thought is never mentioned or discussed. Sasso also examines the text of Machiavelli's works and comes to the conclusions that the Machiavelli problem is complex, and that it cannot merely be determined by his relationship to classical or Florentine humanistic thought. While the approach of Sasso is that of a historian, Strauss's approach seems divorced from a historical context. Federico Chabod, influenced by Croce, has exclaimed, "But *The Prince* is no literary exercise!" To the historian it seems at times as if this book has made Machiavelli's works into just that. Yet once the limitations of Strauss's approach have been taken into account, his book can give us some valuable insights. The interplay of appearance and reality in Machiavelli's writings, for example, does convey something of the temper of his mind.

University of Wisconsin

GEORGE L. MOSSE

HISTORY OF UKRAINE-RUS'. Volume I, TO THE XI. CENTURY; Volume II, XI-XIII. CENTURY; Volume III, UP TO YEAR 1340; Volume IV, XIV-XVI. CENTURIES, POLITICAL RELATIONS; Volume V, SOCIAL-POLITICAL AND CHURCH ORDER AND RELATIONS IN UKRAINE-RUS' TERRITORIES IN XIV-XVII. CENTURIES; Volume VI, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND NATIONAL LIFE OF THE XIV-XVII. CENTURIES; Volume VII, COSSACK TIMES UP TO 1625; Volume VIII, Part 1, 1626-1638, Part 2, 1638-1648, Part 3, 1648-1650; Volume IX, Book I,

Part 1, 1650-1653, Part 2, 1654-1657; Volume X, FROM THE DEATH OF KHMELNITSKY TO THE HADYACH AGREEMENT. By *Mykhailo Hrushevsky*. (New York: Knyho-Spilka. 1954; 1954; 1954; 1955; 1955; 1955; 1956; 1956; 1957; 1957; 1958. Pp. xxix, 648; 633; 586; 535; vii, 687; 667; x, 624; 321, 224, 314; 869; 871-1630; 594.)

THE greatest Ukrainian historian, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, 1866-1934, is known in the Western world chiefly, if not exclusively, for his brief survey of the history of Ukraine, which in 1916 appeared in French and German, and in 1941 in an English translation. This outline gives a clear idea of the author's interpretation of Ukrainian and, in general, East European history, but not of his amazing scholarship and of the tremendous amount of painstaking research on which his interpretation is based. His monumental *History of Ukraine-Rus'* in ten or rather eleven volumes (the ninth consists of two parts) appeared in Ukrainian only, except the first volume, which was translated into German. Until recently it was not easily available even to those familiar with the Ukrainian language because most of the volumes were out of print and the last one, posthumously published in 1936 in Kiev, could not easily be obtained abroad. Highly welcome, therefore, was the decision of the Ukrainian *émigrés* in the United States to reprint the whole work in New York, with an introductory essay by Professor B. Krupnytsky on "Mr. Hrushevsky and His Historical Work" and a very helpful index to all volumes.

When Hrushevsky started his project sixty years ago, he planned to present the history of his country in three parts or "cycles," each of them treated in three volumes. He strictly followed his plan as far as the first two parts were concerned. The first three volumes covered the history of old Kievan Rus' from the origin to the end of her independent political life which, in the states of Halych and Volhynia, continued until 1340. The next three volumes described the political, social, economic, and cultural development of the Ruthenian lands under Polish-Lithuanian rule from the middle of the fourteenth to the turn of the sixteenth century. The remaining volumes received the subtitle "History of the Ukrainian Cossacks" and were supposed to deal with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But the author, who anticipated that for this third part probably not three but four volumes would be needed, entered into such a detailed treatment of the Cossack period that the tenth (strictly speaking, eleventh) volume (the last that he was able to write before he tragically died, deported to Moscow by the Communist regime) ended rather abruptly with the year 1659.

There is indeed a twofold difference between the approach of the first six and that of the subsequent volumes. To the end of the sixteenth century Hrushevsky gives a synthesis of the history of the Ruthenian people. Then he turns to a monograph of the Ukrainian Cossacks, who certainly were the most dynamic part of that people—gradually assuming its leadership and reviving the idea of its statehood—but who nevertheless cannot be identified with the nation as a whole. And

though the presentation in all three parts is based on primary sources, with numerous footnotes and critical appendixes, the third one, aiming at a fully exhaustive picture, discusses even minor points and uses much unpublished source material.

As they are, however, all parts of the imposing series—the mature product of a lifetime's strenuous efforts—are indispensable for any serious study of East European history. The first "cycle" gives clear evidence of how misleading it is to treat, as is so frequently done, the whole history of old Kievan Rus' as merely an introduction to the history of Muscovite Russia and of the Russian Empire of modern times. The second part shows equally well that the Ruthenian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth were not at all a "West Russia" artificially separated from Moscow. And the wealth of material in the last volumes makes us understand what the Cossack tradition means to the Ukrainian people.

All this must be recognized, although the work as a whole, and especially the first two parts published well before World War I, is no longer quite up to date, and although very few historians would fully agree with all of Hrushevsky's interpretations. Even in Ukrainian historiography he is sometimes blamed for his very concept of history, which "does not give priority to the people's strivings to found their own state, but to their desire to secure the maximum social and economic benefits." However, the same distinguished scholar, Dmytro Doroshenko, who criticized that trend in Hrushevsky's thought, particularly after the 1917 Revolution, not only praised "the systematic summation of information, its scholarly examination and analysis," but also the central idea of the author's synthesis, which stresses "the continuity of the historical evolution of the Ukrainian people on the territory settled in the dawn of the history of humanity."

In the evolution of all Slavic nations, in the development of their national consciousness and of their ideologies, great historians participating in the political events of their times have played an outstanding part, to mention only Karamzin in Russia, Lelewel in Poland, or Palacký in Bohemia. Hrushevsky's place in the writing and making of the history of his nation is hardly less important. And since he wrote at a time when the science and method of history had already reached a higher level of maturity and perfection, his "huge encyclopedia comprising all the results of previous studies of Ukrainian historiography" as well as the results of his own investigations, has an even more durable value from the scholarly point of view.

His highly personal views require, however, a careful confrontation with those of Polish and Russian historians who have touched the same problems, and also with those of the younger generation of Ukrainian scholars. The reissue of his *History* will certainly stimulate such discussions and also the desire to see that outstanding work completed. In the anniversary year of the Hadyach Agreement, which is rather too critically evaluated on the last pages of Hrushevsky's work, it is only natural to express the hope that Ukrainian and Polish historians will join

in trying to explain why that promising agreement between the two nations did not come into force. And since this is also an anniversary year of the Battle of Poltava, it might be explained, too, why that event of truly European significance ended for a long time the struggle for Ukrainian freedom. It is at least to that turning point that Hrushevsky's story ought to be continued, in agreement with his original intention.

Fordham University

OSCAR HALECKI

TSARIST RUSSIA AND BALKAN NATIONALISM: RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF BULGARIA AND SERBIA, 1879-1886. By *Charles Jelavich*. [Russian and East European Studies.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. x, 304. \$4.50.)

DESPITE its expansive title, this useful volume is, as its subtitle clarifies, a survey of Russian influence in Bulgaria and Serbia in the decade following the Congress of Berlin. Its author has already demonstrated his expertness in a series of articles in the *American Slavic and East European Review* and *Südost-Forschungen* from 1953 to 1957, many of which were written in collaboration with his wife.

By Russian "influence" Professor Jelavich means specifically diplomatic action. Where he does discuss broader issues such as Pan-Slavism, problems within the Orthodox Church, or economic penetration of the Balkans, the author is mainly interested in the diplomatic aspects of these questions. Furthermore, since Bulgaria was a Russian satellite in this period, while Serbia was tied to Austria, it is natural that most of the book deals with Bulgaria and the reign of Prince Alexander of Battenberg.

Jelavich has made good use of unpublished material from the British Foreign Office and the Austrian Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv. He did not have access to Russian unpublished materials, except for the important correspondence of N. K. Giers, the Russian foreign minister from 1882 to 1885. Nor has he done anything with Bulgarian or Serbian unpublished sources, presumably because they were not made available to him, for he has been to Yugoslavia, at least, and reads the South Slavic languages as well as Russian.

Even with all his zealous digging, the author does not uncover anything that changes the story as historians have already presented it. He would be the first to acknowledge his debt to Cyril Black's *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Bulgaria* (Princeton, N. J., 1943), to Egon Corti's biography of Alexander of Battenberg, and to William L. Langer's well-known works in the diplomatic history of this period. Yet Western scholars who have been dependent on these standard items still have reason to be grateful to Jelavich for his use of recently published Slavic works such as the four-volume diary of D. A. Miliutin, the Russian minister of war, or the studies on Bulgarian constitutional history by the Soviet historian I. V. Koz'menko. Furthermore, the author's chapters on Serbia,

though few, are a distinct contribution to Western scholars who are unable to read the monumental works of Slobodan Jovanović, Vladan Djordjević, Jaša Prodanović, or Živan Živanović.

Rather than introduce any new interpretations, Jelavich has helped dot many "i's" and cross many "t's." What his volume lacks in freshness it compensates for in usefulness as a clear, unbiased, and complete summary of a complicated situation. In this sense it may be considered a sequel to H. B. Sumner's massive work *Russia and the Balkans 1870-1880* (Oxford, Eng., 1937).

As diplomatic history this book is a creditable one and is sure to become a standard work. It raises once again, however, the question of just how useful traditional diplomatic history such as this really is. When one has waded through all the diplomats' names, treaties, dispatches, letters, court gossip, etc., etc., does one really know why Russia failed so miserably in its Balkan policy in the decade after 1878? Diplomatic history offers pertinent information, to be sure, but even a capable diplomatic history such as this one seems to be dealing with surface ripples while passing over the undertow of social, economic, and cultural factors. There is no doubt in this reviewer's mind that Jelavich appreciates these factors. Furthermore, he has a perfect right to define his task and to limit himself to it. Yet while Western diplomatic history has behind it a solid foundation of works in economic, social, cultural, intellectual, and local political history, the authors of books on Russian diplomacy in the Balkans unfortunately cannot assume that their readers command the more fundamental facts of life in those countries. It is for well-trained specialists like Jelavich to supply those facts and to interpret them. Meanwhile we can be glad for this volume and congratulate the University of California Press for undertaking such a promising venture as this series.

University of Wisconsin

MICHAEL B. PETROVICH

THE AGRARIAN FOES OF BOLSHEVISM: PROMISE AND DEFAULT OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARIES, FEBRUARY TO OCTOBER 1917. By *Oliver H. Radkey*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 521. \$8.50.)

THIS book on the Russian Socialist Revolutionary party (SR) stems from more than two decades of research and fully reveals the author's incomparable knowledge of the subject. But it is hopelessly marred by unbridled emotions. Mr. Radkey's task was to explain the decline of the SR from a peak of immense popularity after the February Revolution to its discomfiture by the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution. Yet long before Radkey begins to explain the defeat it becomes clear that he cannot forgive it. Unlike Lucan's Cato to whom *causa victa placuit*, Radkey knows neither mercy nor courtesy in his strictures. The old populists, the venerated figures of the nineteenth century, are brushed aside con-

temptuously as a "tiny band of adult children." "Folly," "ineptitude," "fatuousness," "nauseous display of hypocrisy," "large child," "aberration," "intellectual snobbishness," "caste prejudice," "feminine venom"—those are the terms in which the author characterizes his heroes. Many an action or attitude is attributed to the Jewishness or membership in Masonic lodges of the persons concerned. This may be quite true, but in absence of any real evidence in support of those imputations one cannot help feeling that they were more in place in the contemporaneous Russian newspapers and pamphlets (whence they possibly came) than they are in a scholarly work published four decades after the event.

Vituperative, scornful, and condescending as Radkey chooses to remain throughout his book, he does make an effort to discuss the problem on a somewhat higher level. He lists a number of factors to explain the course of events, but the analysis is lacking in both depth and range, and in particular the fateful connection between the problem of the war and that of the gentry land remains in the dark. The final yield of nearly five hundred pages is astonishingly meager. After having exhausted an inelegant vocabulary in upbraiding the SR, the author suddenly and surprisingly admits "in justice to them," that for the problem of war and peace "there was no easy solution, perhaps no solution at all." Continuing in his reflective mood, Radkey also admits belatedly that at least some SR leaders could not accept a German victory and had to consider what a Hohenzollern hegemony in Europe would mean for the development of democracy in Russia. Yet he quickly recovers to argue that those fears were unwarranted because after America's entry into the war its outcome was no longer in the balance. This is an easy hindsight that ignores the formidable impetus of German offensive thrusts in 1918, a full year after the February Revolution. It is on the very last page that the author divulges what would have been the correct policy for the SR to follow: to steer "a middle course of keeping the army in being, but formally suspending operations." But would the soldiers agree to stay put? Radkey admits this to be uncertain but remains undaunted. "Had the front gone to pieces anyway, the party would at least have the consolation of having acted in conformity with its principles and would have emerged with a clear conscience." One must wonder whether the mouse of this alternative policy justifies the mountain of angry rebuke under which the author has buried the actual policy pursued by the SR.

Harvard University

ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY, 1924-1926. Volume I. By *Edward Hallett Carr*. [A History of Soviet Russia.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1958. Pp. x, 557. \$7.50.)

As a part of a part of a work in progress this book is particularly difficult to review. It is the first volume of a trilogy, which in turn is a continuation of Professor

Carr's ambitious and important *History of Soviet Russia*, of which four volumes (three on the Bolshevik revolution and one on the interregnum after Lenin) have previously appeared. Moreover, the reviewer can hardly do justice even to the author's treatment of the two years 1924–1926, since the arrangement of the material is by topic: the present volume deals with economic issues; political developments and external affairs are to be covered in the two succeeding volumes. Consequently, it may be best at this stage merely to comment briefly on the contents and on certain problems that seem to emerge, without attempting a more general appraisal of *Socialism in One Country* until the series is completed.

One must be grateful that a scholar of Carr's experience, skill, and industry has dug his way into this period, where, as he observes, "material is abundant, but often vague and sometimes contradictory, and where I have had few predecessors and few signposts to follow." After an extended background chapter in which he summarizes his views on the relation of the Revolution to Russian history, on the new currents in the aftermath of the civil war, and on the leading personalities, Carr examines successively agriculture, industry, labor, trade, finance, credit, and planning during the years of economic revival. In each case he finds a similar pattern of developments: the real improvements under NEP create in turn new problems which are seen to set the stage for the quite different course of the following years.

At this point, however, certain problems emerge which we may hope that Carr will resolve in the course of his trilogy. In part they stem from his organization of the material. Even within the compass of the present work the method of parallel treatment hinders a clear view of the historical process in the economic sector alone. More serious is the question of the interplay during those years among economic, political, and external factors. Carr tells us that he has given precedence to the economic issues because they were more decisive in determining the pattern of events than was the more dramatic rivalry between party leaders. This may be so, but, in the present volume at least, the conclusion can only be stated, not proved, since we are not given a close analysis of the reciprocal relations between politics and economics. On more than one occasion the reader confronts a major turn in policy that seems plausibly to have arisen from an economic quandary but that also happened to take place at a time of desperate factional conflict, the elucidation of which, however, must wait for the next volume.

A second difficulty proceeds from a tendency to let a number of underlying categories—the pattern of choices that were available, the nature of social groups—be determined by the perspectives of the Soviet leadership. Thus, while Carr presents with skill the varying and conflicting views of the way the *kulak* should be handled, the terminology and concepts he employs for discussing economic and social relations in the countryside may be misleading. Here again one could wish that the political issues had not been put off to the second volume.

To repeat, it can be only after we have had the opportunity to grasp the whole

picture that we can seriously come to grips with the structure and interpretations of what will undoubtedly be a major landmark in Soviet studies.

Columbia University

HENRY L. ROBERTS

Far Eastern History

A HISTORY OF JAPAN TO 1334. By *George Sansom*. [Stanford Studies in the Civilizations of Eastern Asia, Volume I.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 500. \$8.50.)

ON rare occasions a reviewer is justified in indulging in frank prejudice; the publication of Sir George Sansom's superb *A History of Japan to 1334* is one. This volume is the first of three that will cover Japanese history from its beginnings to 1854.

To this reviewer, a student of the author for many years at Columbia University, reading the present work brings back the quiet voice, graceful language, and urbane wit with which he charmed his listeners. The substance of his thoughts and interpretations now expressed in print were then being formulated.

One of the many observations Sansom made at that time is especially pertinent here. In those days before Pearl Harbor, some of us had asked ourselves in moments of dejection, "Why conduct research in Japanese history at this distance from Japan? What can we hope to achieve that Japanese historians cannot more easily achieve with their material lying close at hand, and with their command of the necessary specialized language skills?" Visiting Japanese scholars had asked the same questions.

Sansom admitted that minute and painstaking studies of a textual or perhaps a bibliographical nature (such as those conducted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Sanjō-Nishi Sanetaka, or later by Moto'ori Norinaga or by Kariya Ekisai, and still pursued exactly by the Historiographical Institute attached to Tokyo University) would probably forever have to be, and ought rightly to be, left to the able Japanese scholars working in Japan. But what of synthesis and interpretation of that material? Who would place that information in perspective in relation to the whole of Japanese history, or the history of the entire Far East, and of the world? There had been attempts to look at the history of man from the world view, but at that time the attempts were inadequate insofar as the Far East was concerned, since their authors relied on secondary works either inadequate in themselves, or out of date. On the other hand, Japanese historians in Japan, then still only recently emerged from traditional Chinese philosophies and methods of historiography, were reminiscent of "frogs in a pond with little sight of the sea," clinging to dates in the Japanese "era" names (*nengō*)—which for an outsider were difficult to keep straight, and even then had to be synchronized with Christian chronology for purposes of comparison with events in other areas.

Japanese history, (*Kokushi*) was an entity in itself, almost entirely divorced from *Tōyō-shi* which, although it means "Oriental history," was mainly devoted to the history of China. A few forward looking Japanese scholars were even then trying to broaden this narrow view of Japanese history, notably the late Tsuji Zenosuke and Akiyama Kenzō. But their important writings were generally regarded as peripheral.

Here the Occidental Japanologist could make real contributions with his wider bases of training in the social sciences and history of other areas. He could view the larger picture without the prejudice or the ethnocentricity that had blinded or the nationalistic pressure that had silenced even scholars of great ability in Japan. Sansom has done this and more in the first volume of his *History*. Placing Japan in the panorama of world history, he has tied together loose ends in syntheses that could only be made through a thorough knowledge of both Europe and the Orient, and has compared similar or contrasting events in other areas and in other times.

With characteristic modesty Sansom says that this work was written for the ordinary reader and not for professional scholars, but scholars must respect and ponder such observations as the differences rather than the similarities between Japanese and Chinese social customs; that "much of Confucian doctrine was not to Japanese taste"; that features of the early cult of Shinto were almost universal, and those distinctively Japanese were perhaps the result of environmental influence; and his penetrating observation on Shinto in spite of what twentieth-century nationalists attempted to make of it. This work will be the standard history of Japan for all serious students, and will be of even greater value to Japanese students in Japan.

Through the entire volume the reader will find that much is familiar, for the basic events are the same as those treated by Murdock, Brinkley, Kuroita Katsumi, and more recently in the numerous multivolume compilations produced by the joint efforts of Japanese specialists. Sansom's contribution is his own arrangement of the facts, his frequently unique interpretations of them, and his choice of which facts and what aspects to mention. Even in a three-volume history not all known facts about nineteen hundred years of a nation's development can possibly be included. For instance, the author mentions "superstitious dread" as having played a great part in the decision to abandon the capital at Nagaoka for (present) Kyoto but he does not mention the intrigues of the local landowning clans or the political assassination of Fujiwara no Tanetsugu.

His descriptions of the natures of Kiyomori and of Yoritomo may sound somewhat arbitrary to some readers, but they are refreshing interpretations based upon the reading of contemporary historical sources. People may disagree, but these character sketches are as intimate as any hitherto written on these figures in European languages for general consumption. Based upon standard and sometimes lesser-known historical sources, introducing translations of a number of

them, Sansom has given us intimate glimpses into the life of the times reminiscent of Trevelyan's *English Social History*.

Many people (this reviewer is not one) consider the period covered in this volume to be a prologue to Japanese history. If it is, we await all the more eagerly the subsequent volumes and Sansom's account of the Wars of Ōnin, which mark the beginnings of another feudal struggle for power similar to that at the end of the Kamakura period. But "this time," said Sansom in his *Short Cultural History*, "[it] was to be decisive and final," to form the basis for the modern history of Japan.

Library of Congress

OSAMU SHIMIZU

CHINA'S EARLY INDUSTRIALIZATION: SHENG HSUAN-HUAI (1844-1916) AND MANDARIN ENTERPRISE. By *Albert Feuerwerker*. [Harvard East Asian Studies, Number 1.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 311, xxxii. \$6.50.)

THIS is the first volume of a series on modern China planned by the Center for East Asian Studies at Harvard University. The author, a research fellow at the Center, has chosen the career of the pioneer Chinese industrialist, Sheng Hsuan-huai (1844-1916), to show the development of certain key industries during the years 1872-1913—undertaken to combat foreign economic exploitation of the country. Given traditional business methods and the strength of family and personal ties, capital could then be raised and industry started only by a system known as "official supervision and merchant management" (a literal rendering of the Chinese phrase *kuan-tu shang-pan*). The system, as Mr. Feuerwerker so ably portrays it, is really the beginning of the "self-strengthening" effort by which China hoped to overcome the affronts to her pride that Western technical superiority presented. How strong this determination became can be observed on mainland China today.

Sheng Hsuan-huai, a subordinate to the statesman Li Hung-chang, had the requisite vision and business acumen not only to start great enterprises but also to keep them going under the handicaps of imperial exactions, provincial loyalties, nepotism, and the blindness of the "official mind." All this is told without overstatement and with rare understanding of the intellectual and moral ideals that Confucian teaching inculcates. The roster of enterprises that Sheng at one time planned or managed is impressive: China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, Kailan Mining Administration, Shanghai Cotton Cloth Mill Company, Telegraph Administration, Imperial Bank of China. In addition, he founded Nanyang University in Shanghai and Pei-yang University in Tientsin. At the same time he financed numerous scholarly publications. Feuerwerker drew his information from company reports, official memorials, newspaper accounts, and correspondence of contemporaries. His acquaintance with business practices and his ability to evaluate complex statistics are exemplary.

Though the book features the business career of one man, it throws much light on Chinese governmental practices and on statesmen such as Li Hung-chang, Chang Chih-tung, and Yuan Shih-kai. We observe how Chinese who got their start as compradors in foreign firms rose to positions of influence. At every stage the industrial progress of China and Japan are compared and reasons assigned for the more rapid pace of the latter. The glossary of Chinese and Japanese names, with characters appended, will be of great help to future investigators.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

American History

THE UNITED STATES AND THE TREATY LAW OF THE SEA. By Henry Reiff. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. c. 1959. Pp. 451. \$8.00.)

THIS work is a labor of love and real usefulness prepared during the lifetime of a devoted scholar dedicated to the ocean road toward eventual unity of mankind. It should be on the desk of every man or woman dealing professionally with the sea: historians, political scientists, diplomats, admiralty lawyers, sea captains, aviators, and scientists in related disciplines.

The book is a technical work of encyclopedic scope not without a touch of poetical feeling in its preliminary chapters on the nature of the sea, the treasures in and under it, and its uses and abuses by mankind. Presented as a contribution to political science, the philosophic bent of the treatise is away from the ancient concept of *res nullius* toward the modern tendency of *res communis* and national restraint for the common welfare of all nations and people using the seven seas. "The sea around us," concludes the author, really is the sea that unites us. You will find that Reiff discusses all the seas authoritatively.

What a multitude of problems have come up to be regulated, increasingly by means of multilateral arrangement, for the progress of international oceanic usage! An ever-broadening range of mutual maritime concerns summons the sovereign nations of the world into an expanding area of cooperation. This widening scope of usage, set forth in Reiff, extends beyond the historic problems of navigation and transportation to the regulation of fisheries, the conservation of many forms of marine life, suppression of the slave trade and traffic in women and children, and other humanitarian programs; provisions for the safety of life at sea, communications in three dimensions of sea and air, prevention of pollution of waters, meteorology and other sciences, public health, the vexing problem of definition and administration of the continental shelf, the troublesome contest of limits of sovereignty over territorial waters, codification of international law of the sea, not to mention the most recent diplomatic as well as legal problems relating to the testing of nuclear weapons and guided missiles.

After a century and a half of relative isolation from international conferences, the United States in recent decades has advanced its own considerable interests in the sea by an increasing participation in international conferences and resulting treaties and executive agreements, until today it is a full participant if not a leader in this realm of international cooperation in time of peace. Reiff rather arbitrarily excludes maritime problems in time of war.

The author does not always distinguish "like a political scientist should" between treaties of the United States and executive agreements. This uncertainty of designation appears even in the wonderful checklist in the appendix of "Treaties Perfected by the United States," and cited in the volume. The reader could do with a glossary of the numerous alphabetical abbreviations, occasionally five or six to the page.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND ITALY. By *Antonio Pace*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XLVII.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1958. Pp. xi, 450. \$5.00.)

ALTHOUGH Franklin never visited Italy, he was well known there. He numbered among his friends and correspondents several of the leading Italian scientists and other intellectuals. At different periods, both in his own lifetime and in the nineteenth century, his Italian admirers translated some of his writings or published popular biographies; more than any other American he came to symbolize the virtues attributed in the public imagination to the new society developing across the Atlantic. Professor Pace has written much more than just another book about Franklin; this is a book about Italy as well, and, even more significantly, it is a notable chapter in the early history of what might be called the foreign relations of American culture.

This was not an easy book to write. The topics range from electricity through diplomatic history and political science, to printing, music, art, literature, education, and the cultural forces underlying the Italian *risorgimento*. The author displays an impressive command of these varied fields and his research has been thorough. So far as the reviewer is aware, he has missed no more than one or two surviving manuscripts in this country or abroad that were important for his purpose. The presentation of so diverse a body of material involved its own problems, but the organization is logical and orderly, with only an irreducible minimum of repetition.

After a general introductory chapter, the book is divided into sections that deal with Franklin's Italian "fortune" as scientist, statesman, printer, and popular philosopher, and with his place in Italian literature and arts. The first of these describes in detail the course of his reputation as an "electrologist" and inventor, and traces his relations with Beccaria, Volta, and other outstanding Italian scien-

tists. The chapters on Franklin as a statesman discuss his part in the diplomatic relations between the Italian states and the American republic during the Revolution, his contacts with Filangieri and other political scientists of the "Neapolitan circle," and his place in the "American mirage" as Italians viewed it in the eighteenth century and again in the later *risorgimento*. As popular philosopher, the author of *Poor Richard's Almanack* and the "Way to Wealth" had a wide influence, especially between about 1830 and 1870. One of the most interesting passages describes the use Cesare Cantù, "the McGuffey of his country," made of *Poor Richard* in an "immensely successful series of progressive readers upon which generations of Italians were nurtured." Since Italian unification, however, Franklin's influence has declined sharply, yet two translations of the *Autobiography* were published in the twentieth century in reaction against Fascist authoritarianism.

An appendix of documents and an exhaustive bibliography of 335 published items of Italian Frankliniana add to the usefulness of this book. There is an index of personal names but, unfortunately, none of subject matter. With this exception Pace has served his readers extremely well. Few episodes in the history of American cultural impact abroad have been so thoroughly or so satisfactorily examined. The author deserves gratitude not only from all admirers of Franklin but from all students of America's place in the intellectual world of the past two centuries.

Yale University

LEONARD W. LABAREE

THE JACKSONIAN ERA, 1828-1848. By *Glyndon G. Van Deusen*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. c. 1959. Pp. xvi, 291. \$5.00.)

THE JACKSONIAN HERITAGE: PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS, 1833-1848. By *Charles McCool Snyder*. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1958. Pp. x, 256. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Van Deusen's formidable assignment was to bring together in fewer than three hundred pages a comprehensive restatement of national political developments in the Jackson era. He has succeeded in incorporating in this New American Nation volume the substantive findings and the interpretive insights of the hosts of able scholars who have investigated this field over the past half century. His account is flavored with his own mature and informed judgments. The traditional narrative has been brought up to date, but our comprehension of this dynamic segment of our history has not been broadened significantly.

The difficulty may lie in the fact that Van Deusen deals with the familiar structure of issues, parties, events, and personalities, and he keeps strictly to the national level of politics. He is primarily concerned with describing the positions taken by the major parties on national questions and with delineating the con-

situencies that the parties represented. Whether it continues to be feasible or rewarding to treat American political history in such terms seems increasingly doubtful.

From Van Deusen's perspective both parties in 1828 represented "uneasy congeries of interest," with the Jacksonians leaning toward the "plain people" and their opponents toward the "business class." Cutting across this loose class orientation was a much more obvious sectional alignment. By 1834, owing to the furor over banking, the Democracy had become dedicated to the principle of equality of opportunity. The Whigs, socially conservative and dominated by vested interests, adopted a national viewpoint toward contemporary problems.

Under Van Buren the "southern planters and plain republicans" moved to the left, but their radicalism was essentially negative and even neo-Jeffersonian. Reform had spent itself by 1840, and the Democrats sought a new issue in expansionism. The Whigs, meanwhile, had arrayed themselves in the "panoplies of democracy." With Polk came southern domination as the erstwhile Jacksonians set about expanding the nation at the expense of Mexico, largely in order to realize commercial opportunities. The old issues were by now dead. The parties in 1848 were indistinguishable, but expansionism had revived the slavery issue, which would shortly produce a new alignment of parties.

Instead of introducing a new interpretation of the era, Van Deusen endeavors to utilize—and even synthesize—the often divergent insights of Hammond, Hartz, Hofstadter, Myers, and Schlesinger. Such eclecticism is beset by the twin dangers of ambiguity and inconsistency.

This, then, is an expertly executed brief summary of the best scholarship. It will remain for some time the standard one-volume treatment of the topic. It will be completely superseded only when the political content of the Jackson era is given a different definition from that which it has had for the past half century.

Scholars who are acquainted with the monographs by Tinkcom, Higginbotham, and Klein on earlier periods of Pennsylvania politics will recognize a familiar pattern in Snyder's study. Local political factors, patronage rivalries, and personal antagonisms continued to impede the development of strong parties or issue-oriented politics throughout the Jacksonian period.

Pennsylvania parties were not readily responsive to national political stimuli. Although the Democrats did fall into line nominally with Jackson on the bank issue in 1834 and with Polk's low tariff views in 1847, such conversions were largely expedient. So divided was the party by factionalism that it could rarely reach agreement on any matter. The major opposition was furnished by the Antimasons, who, unlike their counterparts in New York, refused to coalesce with the Whigs. Instead, they succeeded in maintaining their vigor and identity long after they had lost their original reason for existing. The disorganized Whig minority could only trail along in the wake of the Antimasons, at least until 1844.

Snyder attributes the weakness of parties in Pennsylvania to the extraordinary

diversity of the state. The potency of democratic appeals to a society that was highly egalitarian accounted for the success of the Jacksonians, in spite of the state's predilection for the Bank and protectionism.

This study is a useful one, despite certain pedestrian qualities, for it again illustrates the diverse forms that the "Jacksonian heritage" could take in different states. Descriptive rather than analytical, it does not pose any intriguing hypotheses, but is soundly based on the sources and must be reckoned with by every student of the Jackson era.

Rutgers University

RICHARD P. McCORMICK

CIVIL WAR IN THE MAKING, 1815-1860. By *Avery O. Craven*. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. c. 1959. Pp. xiv, 115. \$3.00.)

THIS book represents a unique experience in historiography. Twice in twenty years its author has delivered the Fleming Lectures. In accepting the second assignment he determined to use it to illustrate an elusive fact, namely that historical truth is in a process of constant evolution.

Dr. Craven's sustained labor in this vineyard over the last two decades has convinced him that the significance of the situation now seems somewhat changed. His first interpretation of the period was in terms of the development of a *Repressible Conflict*. He found no logical reason why the two sections could not dwell together peaceably. Intemperate and unjustifiable attacks by the North, however, aroused the South to abandon its natural conservatism and fight. The resultant war unfortunately destroyed the balance of the nation's economic development.

In this second series of lectures the emphasis is not so specifically on the South; rather there is a balanced discussion of developments both North and South. Two political forces were struggling for control of the Republic. One was the Republican party, which was in reality a sectional association demanding progress along paths marked out by the modern world and leading a crusade against sin. The other was a South largely conservative, endeavoring to protect against attack a cherished way of life to which it believed it had every constitutional right. This situation could not be handled through the democratic process because the issues were so vital to each side that there was nothing that could be compromised or adjusted by negotiation or debate. So a cold war developed between two different societies paradoxically bound together by the closest of national ties.

Craven now sees the conflict as the product of this cold war, of the "tension, suspicion and fear produced by a power struggle between two competing ideologies" at a time when part of a great people were pushed on by forces engendered in the modern world which another part sought to resist. The emotional overcharge resulting from this tension drove men to abandon reason, scrap carefully

constructed democratic machinery, and shed blood. This second picture is more comprehensive, less sectionalized, and more perceptive.

American scholarship is richer for this unique exercise. More important—the great community, on the eve of a centennial of the conflict when it is once again sorely beset by unsettled problems of sectional rivalry and world tension, can read this book with great profit. Too few historians put their talents at the disposal of society so effectively.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

A FRONTIER STATE AT WAR: KANSAS, 1861-1865. By *Albert Castel*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1958. Pp. xi, 251. \$4.50.)

DR. Castel seeks to accomplish a twofold purpose in this volume: to fill a gap in Kansas history that has been neglected too long, and to contribute to a deeper understanding of the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi West. Although the author expresses his intention to discuss the first four years of Kansas' statehood in all its aspects, political, military, social, and economic, the emphasis of the work lies in the first two areas. Aside from two brief chapters at the end, the book, which was awarded honorable mention in the Beveridge competition for 1957, is essentially the story of border conflicts and political struggles. This apparent lack of balance is not a weakness of the book, but rather an indication that, in the words of Castel, "this period of Kansas history was essentially political and military in character." The Civil War years were a continuing sequel to the troubled Kansas territorial years. It was not until the end of the war that Kansans were able to turn their full attention to problems of economic and social development.

Kansas was not a major battleground during the war, but its exposed border condition did produce anxieties, fears, and tensions among its citizens. Unlike some other frontiers, Kansas was intensely loyal to the Union; there was little or no avowed sympathy for the Confederate cause. But Kansans were not only anti-slavery but anti-Negro in their feelings, a frontier characteristic during the sectional conflict. While settlers on frontiers to the west often regarded the war as distant and remote, thinking of themselves more as spectators than as participants, Kansans were constantly reminded of the nearness of the struggle.

Castel has described in scholarly fashion the military events that dominated life in Civil War Kansas: the border raids, perpetrated by both Kansans and Missourians, which often degenerated into outright banditry; Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, "the most atrocious act of the Civil War"; General Ewing's controversial Order Number 11; and Sterling Price's raid into western Missouri in 1864, culminating in the Battle of Westport. The author has ably demonstrated the amazing degree to which the military events shaped the political developments of frontier Kansas. The outcome of the factional struggles for control of state politics was often determined by military events, as each group used the military threat

for its own political purposes. The central figure of the book (he could hardly be called its "hero") is James H. Lane, described by the author as "vulgar, tempestuous, of fluctuating courage, and utterly unscrupulous." Lane's character has been probed by Castel, but much mystery still surrounds this enigmatic person, especially in his puzzling relationship with Lincoln.

This book is a solid contribution to the yet untold story of the Civil War in the West. One might wish, however, that the relations between the young and troubled state and national events and issues were delineated in more detail. The author's use of primary sources has been scrupulous and his conclusions are judicious. The book should do much to correct the all too prevalent notion that in the Kansas-Missouri border conflicts all the right was on one side and all the wrong on the other.

University of Kansas

ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN

THE MAKING OF AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY: A CASE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY IN A FRONTIER COUNTY. By *Merle Curti*. With the assistance of *Robert Daniel, Shaw Livermore, Jr., Joseph Van Hise, and Margaret W. Curti*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 483. \$8.50.)

THIS study originated in an effort to contribute a clearer understanding of some of the issues in two long-standing major historical controversies: Is it possible really to be objective in writing history, and how valid is the Turner hypothesis? As to the first of these, the authors in reality were asking to what extent historians can improve their objectivity by using quantitative and statistical methodology. Much of their data came out of the census reports for 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880, and was processed on business machines. At the same time, they studied in detail all available records of the more traditional type, such as county histories and records, newspapers, and manuscripts. As to the Turner thesis, they make clear that they were not trying to test it in every way but rather only their interpretation of Turner's theory that the ready accessibility of free or almost free land promoted economic equality and that this was followed by political equality.

A microscopic study demanded selection of a limited geographical territory. In the end they chose Trempealeau County, partly because as one of the smaller Wisconsin counties the material relating to it seemed manageable. Its frontier evolutionary changes, its attraction for several regional and national groups, and its consistently rural character added to its attractiveness for study. Perhaps the strongest argument for selecting it rested on the abundance of historical material available. With regard to the property structure of the county, they made a comparative study of an area in Vermont to see if the Wisconsin community displayed marked differences in its pioneer period from those observable in older sections. Otherwise, the book relates almost wholly to the one Wisconsin county and treats virtually every aspect of life for the period covered.

As to conclusions, the authors feel that their material, both in its quantitative and qualitative aspects, lends support to what they believe are the main implications of Turner's thesis about the frontier and democracy. On balance, their findings "indicate that Turner's poetical vision of free land and of relatively equal opportunity was for a great many people being realized in Trempealeau County." As to objectivity, they feel that by combining "objective-quantitative methods" with those more commonly used by historians they obtained more precise information on such subjects as social mobility, economic and occupational status, and literacy, which made possible deeper insights than could have been achieved by either method alone. They do not feel that all historians should use quantitative-statistical methods, nor do they find these useful for all aspects of historical problems. They do feel that historians should respect such methodology and recognize its value to the historical profession. If one insisted on a categorical answer, they obviously would say that historians cannot be wholly objective in their writing.

The book is excellent local history and a contribution to the debate over the Turner hypothesis, but its greatest significance lies in the field of historical methodology. It reads well for a detailed narrative larded with statistics and demonstrates the wisdom inherent in considering all possible methods and interpretations when attacking a problem. Since the authors used both quantitative and qualitative methods, however, they would have performed a still greater service by elaborating more fully on their conclusions as to the strength and weakness of both approaches as applied to the various types of historical material and problems that they encountered. Although I am inclined to agree with their evaluation of both the advantages and limitations of quantitative research, a book such as Russell L. Ackoff's *The Design of Social Research* (Chicago, 1953) implies that all problems can be quantified, or at least are potentially capable of being expressed in terms of a range along a scale. Why would the authors not agree? Others may be inclined to say that the study of Trempealeau County demonstrates that qualitative procedures by themselves are adequate for answering the major problems in which historians are interested. A concluding essay of somewhat broader scope than the material in the conclusion and appendixes would have been especially welcome because the authors seemingly have no special predilection for any one method and could have spoken with a minimum of bias. As it stands, the study does contribute a great deal on the subject.

University of Missouri

LEWIS ATHERTON

BRITISH INVESTMENTS AND THE AMERICAN MINING FRONTIER, 1860-1901. By *Clark C. Spence*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1958. Pp. ix, 288. \$4.50.)

NONE of America's many frontiers witnessed so heavy an investment of capital for purposes of exploiting natural resources as the "last frontier," 1860 to 1900.

Speculative enterprises in rails, cattle, land, and mines drew both foreign and American investors in droves, all of whom were anxious to cash in on what appeared to be the last western bonanza. The British of the Victorian era, who elected to place their bets on the West's mineral potential, are discussed in Professor Spence's excellent volume, which won honorable mention for the Beveridge Award in 1956.

Managing western mines by "remote control" was complex enough for American investors, but for the British, enormous distances from headquarters magnified the difficulty. An abiding unfriendliness of western legislatures and courts toward foreigners further complicated matters. Problems of capitalization, of management, and of litigation that confronted both individual and cooperative British promotion comprise the principal part of this study. To exemplify them, the author has devoted one chapter to the tumultuous history of the Emma Silver Mining Company, Limited, of Utah. It presented all the aspects of tricky promotion, extensive legal maneuvers, and acrimony among the officers and stockholders of which many a British investor became suspicious as the nineteenth century drew to a close.

In his attempt to unravel the complexities of British investment in the West, the author attacked a problem that he admits is not completely solvable. In his last chapter "A Backward View" he makes an earnest effort to pull together some of the many loose strings, but he concedes that if the financial legerdemain of the promoter dazzled prospective buyers it also leaves the historian somewhat bewildered. He is able to conclude that between 1860 and 1901 British capital "flowed into the mineral industry of the trans-Mississippi West in significant amounts." A more specific quantitative assessment is impossible, partly because of a lack of complete sources and, ironically, partly because of the tremendous volume of records where the scholar may easily lose trace of elusive companies whose frequent reorganization obscured their identity. Frequently, like icebergs, only a small portion appeared on the surface.

When one considers the extent to which the author has searched the documents at national and state levels in this country and at the Companies Registration Office of the Board of Trade and other depositories at London, it is doubtful that anyone will very soon discover a more detailed answer to the extent of British investment in the American West than that set forth here.

University of Colorado

ROBERT G. ATHEARN

THE WORLD WAR AND AMERICAN ISOLATION, 1914-1917. By *Ernest R. May*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXI.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 482. \$7.50.)

ERNEST R. May's excellent book, the title of which is, however, never clearly explained, provides a reassessment of American involvement in World War I by

examining the issues of neutral rights and Wilson's peace proposals through the eyes of the American, British, and German governments. Similar to Seymour and Link in his interpretation and in his rejection of the revisionism of the 1920's (the word propaganda, for example, is rarely mentioned), May adds new dimensions particularly in providing a concise description of the development of German policy. An exhaustive bibliographical essay testifies to the multiarchival nature of the research.

May believes that "questions of American policy became key issues in domestic struggles for power" in Britain and Germany. In Britain the issue was the extent of the "blockade" and the importance of Anglo-American friendship. In Germany the theme was Bethmann-Hollweg's struggle against a combination of individuals and groups over the use of the submarine. In the United States, according to May, "the drama was less a factional struggle than a contest within one man's conscience." May shows that American policy favored the Allies, but that this favoritism resulted not from conscious unneutrality but from what Wilson and his advisers considered the interests of the United States. Although Link has suggested that United States relations with Britain deteriorated to a point where an outright break was conceivable in 1916, May believes that only if the Germans had cooperated more with Wilson's peace efforts could the tie with Britain have been broken.

In January, 1917, however, Ludendorff and Hindenburg compelled Bethmann to agree to unrestricted submarine warfare. Even then, May insists in agreement with Link, Wilson did not consider war inevitable. He was not convinced that United States intervention was necessary for an Allied victory. (May, in a unique analysis, even questions whether an American economic embargo would have been disastrous to the Allies.) At the same time, Wilson believed that acquiescing in the German decree would mean sacrificing "American prestige and moral influence" in making the peace. After several weeks of soul searching and observation, Wilson concluded that war was the only possible alternative. May insists that Wilson's decisions concerning the submarine were not a "tragedy of errors" but were consciously formulated in accordance with what he believed to be American interests. These interests were not the bankers and munitions makers of the revisionists but foreign trade, Wilson's concern for which William Diamond has already so well described. In the last analysis, according to May, peace between the United States and Britain was preserved because they shared "a community of beliefs," something that was lacking between the United States and Germany. May's defense of Wilson, although convincing to this reviewer, might be less so to one with a different frame of reference.

May writes succinctly, and his conclusions are clearly stated in frequent summaries. He skillfully shows the interrelationships between politics and diplomacy. He faced a difficult problem of organization, however, and at times his topical solution leads to confusion. For example, the armed ship scheme of early 1916 and the mediation proposals of the same period are described chapters apart, and

the extent to which the one impinged on the other is difficult to grasp. Treating each country separately, moreover, likewise leads to confusion. In a chapter on Germany, for example, one reads that the "burden of choice between war and peace" lay upon Germany; in reading about Wilson, one learns that his was the decision for war; yet in the rhetoric of the book's final paragraph May asserts that United States involvement was inevitable. In short, the book could have been somewhat improved by a greater attention to chronology.

Duke University

RICHARD L. WATSON, JR.

THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY: A CRITICAL HISTORY (1919-1957). By *Irving Howe* and *Lewis Coser*, with the assistance of *Julius Jacobson*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1957. Pp. x, 593. \$6.75.)

THIS is a good book and will last for a long time as a scholarly work of merit dealing with a difficult subject. The authors bring to their task an intimate and personal familiarity with the gyrations and nuances of the American Communist movement, its power drives and its internal power struggles. They then add to this understanding a thoroughness of research and an integrity of analysis. The result is a complete critical public history of the American Communist party from 1919 to 1957. It is a history of struggle and some success, of factionalism and of failure.

The authors do not attempt to describe in any detail the Communist party's activities in espionage, sabotage, or other forms of undercover activity directly in behalf of the Soviet Union. These are peripheral to the main objective, which is to write a public history from public records.

The book makes a serious effort to relate systematically the phenomenon of American Communist activity to American life. The authors accomplish their purpose. Beginning where such a work should begin, namely, with early socialism, the book then traces the American Communist party from its unsteady strife-ridden birth through its compromises with idealism, the gradual process of its "totalitarizing," the excitement of its activities and its energies in the 1930's, its stormy and inconsistent relationship with American labor unions, its soul searching between orthodoxy and expediency. The book then ends, at it should, with an excellent analysis of the central theme of the Communist movement, its Stalinization.

An interesting theme that weaves its way through the book is the recurring story of Communist self-destruction in the United States, either as a result of unerring failure to understand the American culture or from the rigidities of its own orthodoxies. Time after time, at crucial moments in its history, the one step is taken that serves to split the Communist movement from the main stream of the American "left." This is particularly true with regard to the relationship of the Communist party to American politics and to American labor.

This reviewer has some differences of opinion with the authors but these dif-

ferences do not in any way reduce the effectiveness of the work. Specifically, in making clear that most members of the Communist party joined for short periods and out of many varying pure motives, the authors minimize the indictment that the Communist party of the United States is an integral part of a strong international conspiracy designed to overthrow our government and is thus a clear and present threat to the democratic institutions of the United States. One can well grant the "innocence" of many individual Communist party members and, at the same time, recognize that the sum total of the party mechanism, loyalties, affiliations, and membership makes up such a dangerous conspiracy. In essence, the authors do not appear to take the Communist party too seriously and it is perhaps in this respect that the reviewer finds his area of disagreement with them.

The book has a special virtue in that its thoroughness and detail are accompanied by a refreshing and unexpected lucidity. It is well written and escapes the pedestrian and formalistic presentations too frequently associated with works of scholarship. The authors have made a significant contribution to the literature of American political history.

Washington, D. C.

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

HERBERT HOOVER AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION. By *Harris Gaylord Warren*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. 372. \$7.00.)

At least since Broadus Mitchell's *Depression Decade* convinced us in 1947 that we should do so, historians have left to the demagogues among politicians, journalists, and labor leaders the cruder legends that Herbert Hoover and his fellow Republicans caused the great depression and were indifferent to, if they did not revel in, its hardships. We have been willing to acknowledge somewhat less generally that much of the New Deal, in statute as well as in concept, had its seed in the Hoover administration. This volume has even more revisionist aims. In his introduction Professor Warren explicitly announces that "no one, it seems to me, has done justice to the Hoover Administration" and that the country "should be grateful" that Hoover was President from 1929 to 1932.

As the treatment swings back to Hoover's early years as engineer, humanitarian, and bureaucrat, and then continues through an exceptionally inclusive account of his administration, the emphasis is predominantly political-economic. In contrast to another recent book to which it will be inevitably compared, this is no history of ideas, even though Hoover's philosophy is given succinct statement. Though Warren writes a defense, he is sharply and frequently critical of the shortcomings in Hoover's personality and policy. He notes the President's "granite stubbornness" (once it is "wonderful stubbornness"), his inexplicable lapses in a sense of humor, his tendency to draw incorrect conclusions from "incomplete" or unwelcome evidence, his unwillingness "to face the economic facts of international life." In the end, at least in one reader's opinion, Hoover emerges as his critics

pictured him: perverse, self-deluded, caught in the coils of his principles. Since this is the conclusion the author hardly intended, the result is perplexing. While Warren is so fair that he is unwilling to be the partisan, he seems to balk at letting his own evidence lead him to the harsher and conventional judgment. I can imagine President Hoover murmuring over this example of doing him "justice":

It's all very well to dissemble your love,
But why did you kick me downstairs?

One complaint of the author is that Hoover's program did not deal with the basic causes of the depression. Hoover might retort: neither does the book. There is a chapter on "The Heritage of Normalcy" and incidental attention to the misdeeds of bankers, businessmen, and speculators. The depression's cause seems to boil down to an anti-Wall Street grangerism, albeit in the sophisticated version of money changers in the temple. Theories of causation based upon the evil in men do not gain persuasiveness by repetition. Maybe the immense volume of explanation about business cycles, compiled with so much skill and erudition by Mitchell, Keynes, and Schumpeter, to mention no others, is nonsense. Judging by their documentation and text, few historians of the depression of 1929—for Warren is not alone—have ever made up their minds for themselves on this matter. At least they should substitute an analysis equally acute. There is another ingredient the historian should apply to the Hoover period because it is "ours and ours alone," to follow the advertisements: we cannot judge the success of policy only by short-term considerations. Warren is aware of this consideration, but he does not apply it to Hoover's policies as boldly as he might. Over a longer period than the 1930's and 1940's they may have contained deeper insights that we realize.

Thetford, Vermont

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

Books

General History

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXIV, 1955, including some publications of previous years. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1957. Pp. xxviii, 402.) The first of the bibliographies in this series covered the publications of 1926. Since then, except for a wartime interruption, each year has been effectively covered, and now 1955 has been reached. That was a "good" if not a "great" year in the vineyard of historiography. Nothing like Gibbon's first volume of 1776, Ranke's of 1881, Lavissee and Rambaud's of 1893, or Toynbee's of 1934 appeared in 1955, but there were excellent beginnings of certain major projects, significant additions to others already in progress, and many more of good quality. No one needed to thirst. In this volume are 7,086 numbered notices, some of which contain more than one title. Articles as well as books are listed. Often, reviews are cited. The Bibliographic Commission of the International Committee of Historical Sciences developed the format at the outset, and it has been approved at the last two international congresses. The grouping of notices by chapters and sections of chapters is logical and fairly conventional. Users are aided by a well-designed index, first of authors and personages, and next of place names. Professor Michel François and his associate, Nicolas Tolu, have edited materials contributed by correspondents in thirty-five countries and four international cultural organizations from the historical literature published within their jurisdictions. More countries are represented each year. Hungary and Morocco participated in this volume; Japan will help with the next. The bulk of the contents applies to the West and to modern times. It is probably a fair reflection of the geographical distribution of scholarly historical effort and the interests of those engaged in it. There are enough little errors to require caution but they will not divert a user to the wrong publications. In fact, the series is of the greatest value as an extension of the normal bibliographical assistance to be gained from historical journals.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE F. HOWE

OM FORHOLDET MELLOM ERKJENNELSESFORM OG VERDIANSKUELSE I HISTORIEFILOSOFIEN. By *Gunnar Christie Wasberg*. (Oslo: Forlaget Land og Kirke. 1958. Pp. 113.) Professor Gunnar Wasberg offers to his Norwegian colleagues some ideas on recent trends in historical interpretation. The field of comment is limited to perceptual forms and judgments of values, both of which wind up in the major complexities of historical causation. This brief presentation is either condensed from or the result of his two previous works in the field of philosophy of history. Wasberg briefly offers for consideration some ideas from Cassirer, Maurice Mandelbaum, R. G. Collingwood, Morris Cohen, Karl Jaspers, and other writers. His book is, therefore,

an introduction to modern historical philosophies written in clear and excellent Norwegian. The language does not lend itself, even though lucid, to the complex intricacies of philosophical terms which are difficult enough even in English. Those writers in the field of philosophy of history ought, however, to be pleased that their ideas are circulating among Norwegian historians because of Wasberg's writings.

Occidental College

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

DETACHMENT AND THE WRITING OF HISTORY: ESSAYS AND LETTERS OF CARL L. BECKER. Edited by *Phil L. Snyder*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958. Pp. xvi, 240. \$3.50.) Carl Becker was not detached. This miscellany of several of his essays and reviews and a few of his letters shows once more, as George Sabine reminds us in the introduction, that Becker was a relativist but that "his profoundest moral convictions were all on the side of a belief that some ideals—specifically those embodied in the democratic liberties—were in substance unchangeable and were indispensable. . . ." Most of the essays and reviews in this volume were originally published elsewhere; most of the letters have not been. One of the letters, to a member of a University of Kansas Alumni Committee, written in 1916 after Becker had left Kansas, describes what a university should first of all obtain and retain—"first-rate scholars and teachers," for "you may have the finest material plant and still have a very poor university." And he adds that if Kansas wishes genuine scholars, "a good library, and plenty of money for books, are as attractive as high salary. . . ." The volume, however, cannot be summarized except to say that it reveals nothing that is new to students of Becker, the relativist, the humanist, the stylist, the man of ideas and good will.

Washington, D. C.

BCS

ETHICS IN A WORLD OF POWER: THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. By *Richard W. Sterling*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. xi, 318. \$6.00.) This is a fascinating and moving book about a great man's never-ending search for an answer as to the way in which political power may be made to act with justice. The issue has confronted and confronts every society, every nation-state, and not merely the German. Mr. Sterling rightly hopes "that the boldness as well as the humility which characterized Meinecke's examination of the problems of foreign policy will find resonance in this time of America's power and danger." The reviewer would like to add that the story of Meinecke's search provides a lesson in humility to all historians. Meinecke's life shows how little one learns from study of the past, how dependent one is upon personal experience for clarification of values. Nowhere is this intimate connection between values and current events more evident than in the extreme vicissitudes of German history during the past century and a half, and nowhere is the fact of this dependence more courageously exposed than in the works of Friedrich Meinecke. The problem of the relation between politics and ethics about which Sterling writes with such understanding and clarity is central to the history of modern Germany. That a person of Meinecke's intellectual profundity should have required a lifetime of over ninety years, much of it spent among catastrophes, in order to learn that the nation-state is not a good in itself, that foreign policy does not always take precedence over internal affairs, that the so-called German concept of freedom does not protect the individual against abuse of power by the state, makes poignantly evident the dimensions of the split between German and Western thinking. Even at the end of his life Meinecke rejected the cosmopolitan values of Western natural rights. As one reads Sterling's book, he is impressed with the subtlety and with the limitations of Meinecke's thinking. Meinecke concentrated on political and intellectual history; he seems to have

ignored the social sciences; and he needed almost a century of experience, much of it humiliating to him as a German, to teach him the reality of political and social pluralism. Sterling studied under Meinecke after World War II and knew him as a friend. He has done his work so thoroughly, sympathetically, and critically that he enables the reader to participate in the gains that he derived from Meinecke. "His wisdom [he writes] helped to clarify my thinking regarding many troubling problems that accompany thought and action, particularly in the realm of international politics." This is a fine book.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

EGYPT IN THE SUDAN, 1820-1881. By *Richard Hill*. [Middle Eastern Monographs, Volume II. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 188. \$4.00.) The rule of the Egyptians in the Sudan, from its conquest by Mehmed 'Ali to its loss to the Mahdi, has been the subject of a considerable literature. Most authors, however, have approached the subject in a polemical frame of mind, some seeking to show that British intrigue and duplicity were causes of the Egyptian expulsion, others placing the blame on Egyptian corruption and mismanagement. A few less impassioned studies have been published, but these have been devoted either to the conquest by Mehmed 'Ali or to the Sudan under Isma'il, and in the latter case the massive work of Douin was cut short with the period after 1876 yet to be treated. The need for a balanced and reliable treatment of the entire subject has been met by Hill, who seeks "to explain the nature and significance of the Egyptian occupation of the Sudan." The author exhibits a mastery of the literature and a sure knowledge of both European and Egyptian archives (he is perhaps the first non-Egyptian author to have utilized the Turkish and Arabic originals of the Egyptian documents). His emphasis is upon the aims of Egyptian policy and the mode of Egyptian governance. "On the ground that it is better to bore with detail than deceive with jargon," Hill has "tried to avoid giving the story a unity on paper which . . . it never possessed in fact, and to refrain from those neat, doctrinaire judgements which simplify and yet distort the writings of so many Western commentators on Eastern themes." What the treatment does show is that the development of the Sudan followed the same general pattern as did Egypt proper, with the "Turkish" regime of Mehmed 'Ali gradually becoming Egyptianized. In this Egyptianization of the "Turks," Hill believes, lies the explanation of the Mahdist victory. "In sixty years a military ruling class was becoming a clique of pot-bellied *rentiers*. Egypt civilized them and took their swords away." Altogether, this is an excellent and useful book.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

THE VICTORIAN VISITORS: AN ACCOUNT OF THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM, 1861-1866, INCLUDING THE JOURNAL LETTERS OF SOPHIA CROFT, EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNALS OF LADY FRANKLIN, AND DIARIES AND LETTERS OF QUEEN EMMA OF HAWAII. By *Alfons L. Korn*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1958. Pp. 351. \$6.75.) The "Victorian visitors" were the three ladies named in the title. Lady Franklin and her niece visited Hawaii in 1861. The second visit—that of Queen Emma to England and the Continent in 1865-1866—was stimulated to some extent by the first. In describing the experiences and observations of these distinguished travelers, the author has drawn heavily upon the hitherto unpublished letters and journals of the principals. The account of Emma's visit abroad, like the sources on which it is based, is confined largely to social events, gossip, and the petty jealousies among those who were responsible for planning the

Queen's schedule. Readers interested in Hawaii will find the section dealing with the visit of the English ladies to Hawaii more useful. Lady Franklin and Miss Cracroft were not objective observers, and their bias against the social qualities and democratic influence of Americans in the islands is too obvious to escape notice. They appear to have been the victims of wishful thinking, especially in their unrestrained admiration of the royal family and in their conviction that the king hoped to enhance British prestige in his islands to save them from American domination. They appear also to have accepted uncritically the highly partisan views of Robert C. Wyllie, the British-born Minister of Foreign Relations. The book is highly readable and the story of the visit of the English ladies to Hawaii is replete with human interest. It is not the author's fault that the ladies themselves left only a footnote to the understanding of Hawaiian history.

Vanderbilt University

HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY

DEUTSCHLAND UND CHINA IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT: DAS EINDRINGEN DES DEUTSCHEN KAPITALISMUS. By *Helmuth Stoecker*. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für allgemeine Geschichte an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Number 2.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1958. Pp. 307. DM 17.50.) After World War II some of the German Foreign Office material on China as well as that on other nations slipped into the hands of the USSR and of Communist China, and was finally deposited in the Zentralarchiv at Potsdam. The bulk of the German records on China along with those those on other countries, however, was captured by the Western Allies, and, after being microfilmed, was deposited at Bonn where the reviewer studied them last year. On the whole, Potsdam possesses mainly the material of the commercial division of the Wilhelmstrasse and the reports from legations and consulates, while the nucleus of the Bonn material is formed by the documents of the Politische Abteilung. Herr Stoecker, who writes in East Germany and thus was able to use only the type of material stored there, has focused his study, notwithstanding its title, mainly upon the 1860's to 1880's and breaks off rather abruptly in 1894. Had he analyzed the war years of 1894-1895 and their aftermath he could have shown the apogee of the activities—nefarious it is true—of some of the chief characters he deals with, such as the Krupp representative Menshausen; the latter's successor, the crafty Austrian Hermann J. Mandl, one of the greatest corruptionists of that time and namesake of the redoubtable gunmaker Fritz Mandl, who in the period of Dollfuss and Prince Starhemberg was to play such a conspicuous role in Austria and later, under Perón, in Argentina; and, finally, that fantastic German-born councilor of the Chinese embassy in Berlin, Dr. Karl Traugott Kreyer. It is true that in order thus to complete his study the author would have had to consult the Bonn files, which for a scholar from East Germany may be not too easy. Aside from the limitations—potential and real—imposed upon him by outside circumstances, Stoecker has done a praiseworthy job. Evidently less interested in the intricacies of Leninism and Stalinism than in the Ranke aim of showing *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, he mentioned Stalin not at all and Lenin only twice. He has drawn a very interesting, well-documented, and realistic picture of the role played in Germany's policy in China by business interests, military and navy aspirations, and the whole flock of geographers, missionaries, engineers, traders and munition salesmen, representatives of the early imperialist period, and harbingers of the emergence of the big Western monopolies in Far Eastern affairs. During this transition period Germany's imperialism in China, as elsewhere, was chiefly directed by Prince Bismarck, who, while having turned into a ruthless foe of the anticolonial liberals, refused to subordinate his European power politics to the requirements of limitless expansion at home or abroad. Chief actor in the

Reich's drive for a market as restricted in scope as was mandarin-ruled China was of course the German armaments industry whose maneuvers Stoecker, on the basis of a wealth of documents, analyzes in great detail. Stoecker's book presents a challenge to Western scholars, since it draws an objective picture in an area of historical inquiry toward which many Western historians still play ostrich. If they leave the study of this area chiefly to Communists, and lack proper methods for connecting whatever is known about it in a convincing fashion with the sphere of power politics, Western historiography is bound to lose ground, especially among the colonials, and might be eclipsed, particularly if Eastern writers follow Stoecker's example and do not mar good historical material by squeezing it into the tight boots of a hotly contested political ideology.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

THE GREAT POWERS: ESSAYS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY POLITICS. By Max Beloff. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 240. \$4.50.) This collection of essays written in the last decade by a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, who is known especially for his studies of Soviet foreign policy, is concerned with three questions: Is a historian or a political scientist better equipped than a politician or administrator to see any more clearly into our times; what is the proper size of political units in the modern world and what are the forces making for integration or disintegration; and how has the United States, "the greatest single power dedicated to political freedom," applied its democratic philosophy to the harsh world of international relations? The answer to the first question, set forth in two essays "The Frontiers of Political Analysis" and "Historians in a Revolutionary Age," is that political scientists tend to entertain a great prejudice against history and historians. Mr. Beloff proceeds to set them, and Communists as well, right about many aspects of the history of the world since World War I. For example, there is not "a shred of evidence" that Britain and France incited or connived at a German attack on the Soviet Union. In six essays devoted to "Problems of Integration," Beloff argues that whereas self-determination seemed a reasonable and practicable solution of Europe's problems of nationality after World War I, its application to Asia and Africa is proving much more difficult. He then proceeds to discuss the "Federal Solution" so ardently desired by American opinion, and remains highly skeptical. The "Problems of International Government" are faced courageously, and the weaknesses of the United Nations are duly set forth. "The Russian View of European Integration" is, of course, hostile because it is supported by the United States. Seven essays are devoted to "America." Three are concerned with Tocqueville, Benjamin Franklin, and Theodore Roosevelt, the last an address given at Rhodes House, Oxford, in 1958, the centenary of Roosevelt's birth. The four other essays are concerned with various aspects of American foreign policy. Beloff is not personally anti-American, but he is highly critical of our policy as formulated and administered by Mr. Dulles, whose Middle Eastern policy is predicated on the assumption that "the world is populated entirely by Americans, or would-be Americans. The main trouble about Mr. Dulles' Middle East is that it does not exist." Beloff also complains about "President Roosevelt's strong and often uninformed bias against European empires and the British Empire in particular." Our anticolonialism has been carried so far that it defeats its own ends, as in Indonesia and Indochina. Finally, "what other peoples admire and envy in America is not her democratic order but her material abundance; and it has yet to be proved to them that the former has contributed to the latter." All in all, this is a stimulating book that those who make our foreign policy would do well to read and ponder.

Alexandria, Virginia

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

WHAT HAPPENED AT PEARL HARBOR? DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE JAPANESE ATTACK OF DECEMBER 7, 1941, AND ITS BACKGROUND. Edited with an introduction by *Hans Louis Trefousse*. (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1958. Pp. 324. \$6.00.) This is a convenient collection of documents and testimony on events leading to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. It contains material on developments at Pearl Harbor, in Washington, Tokyo, Berlin, and on the final American-Japanese conversations. No brief compilation could possibly include every significant document, but Professor Trefousse has skillfully and fairly selected many key and representative items. Included here are pertinent excerpts from the testimony of Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, General Walter C. Short, General George C. Marshall, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, and others. There are letters and documents of such people as Prince Konoye, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Count Galeazzo Ciano, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Ambassador Joseph C. Grew. This volume reproduces the Japanese proposals of November 20, 1941, the American proposals of November 26, and the fourteen-part Japanese message delivered on December 7, 1941. Some of the documents checked by this reviewer contain minor editorial errors, but none of these alter the meaning of the items. The research historian must, of course, continue to rely on manuscripts and on the published collections from which these documents were selected—largely the Pearl Harbor hearings, the Department of State *Foreign Relations* volumes, and the records of the war crimes trials. But this book conveniently provides the general reader with the opportunity to savor the color, drama, and perplexities in the documentary story of events leading to Pearl Harbor. It is an interesting and worthwhile volume.

Iowa State College

WAYNE S. COLE

Ancient and Medieval History

THE ANCIENT MARINERS: SEAFARERS AND SEA FIGHTERS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN IN ANCIENT TIMES. By *Lionel Casson*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. xx, 286. \$5.95.) In this volume Casson attempts to give the history of the design of warships and so far as possible of merchantmen, of naval warfare, of commerce, of maritime exploration, and of the relevant political background, together with anecdotes, local color, and other trimmings. He starts at the end of the New Stone Age in Egypt and Mesopotamia and continues into the Byzantine period. No other book attempts anything like this. It is remarkable that Casson achieves a fair measure of success. The treatment, lacking footnotes, is intended to be "popular." The title and chapter headings are "literary," and in the text a compulsion to be spectacular is often evident, sometimes with unhappy results. The Athenian naval records, for instance, are twice declared to be preserved on "imperishable marble"; alas it is precisely the naval records in Athens that have suffered more than any other group of inscriptions from exposure to the weather. But such defects disappear when the author is in the midst of good sound exposition or narrative. Then the facts are allowed to speak for themselves, convincingly. Granting the limited size of the book, still the selected bibliography is too short. At the beginning, for example, there is almost nothing on the whole long development from raft and dugout to ship (the *Kon-tiki*, not mentioned, revealed the possibilities); and J. G. D. Clark, *Prehistoric Europe, Economic Background*, is relevant. For later chapters, less romance of the *Argo* and some of R. Carpenter might have been included. Casson's own special articles are there, and properly; he is no amateur in research, and no landlubber; on the contrary, he obviously knows sea-

faring so well as to make excusable an occasional saltier-than-thou turn of phrase. The most learned pages are the glossary. The illustrations are generally good, but two of the cuts representing Egyptian reliefs are sadly botched, and I think Casson forces an exciting interpretation upon the mild scene of Plate Seven. The most important depiction of a trireme, the Acropolis relief, is not even mentioned. In general the history is lively, and often there is a sharp sense of reality; but it is better in dealing with the actualities (e.g., piracy, Greek fire) than with problems of the veracity of records. The earlier chapters are insufficiently critical. On the whole the feeling remains that the negative aspects are definitely outweighed by the substance and gusto of the whole. Forced or not, the excitement is there, and it has a valid core. The Egyptian ships with their great axial cable, structurally a sort of keel in the air; the Greek trireme, with its amazing development, neatly described from longboat through three-banked Athenian masterpieces to huge Hellenistic men-of-war and Roman floating battlements; and the Roman grain fleet, ships so large that "it was not until 1845 that the North Atlantic saw a ship" of such size—all these and more are dynamically present.

Harvard University

STERLING DOW

ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY. By *A. H. M. Jones*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1958. Pp. vii, 198. \$5.00.) Jones explains in the brief preface that only Chapter V and the appendix are here printed for the first time. Two of these essays are out of print and difficult of access; yet in any case it is most useful for us to have between two covers these six studies dealing with a single theme. Chapter 1, "The Economic Basis of the Athenian Democracy," is essentially an analysis of two charges commonly and rather glibly made against the democracy of the fifth century: democracy was parasitic on the Empire because imperial revenue provided pay for public service; democracy was parasitic on slavery, which created leisure. Those who bring the charges ignore the fact that the democracy continued to flourish in the fourth century when there was no empire; and Jones demonstrates "that the majority of the citizens were then workers who earned their own livings." This essay complements Tod's opening chapter in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume V. "The Athens of Demosthenes," an inaugural lecture, concentrates on the *eisphora* and the *theorikon*; it makes the interesting and perhaps surprising point that Athenian juries were often peopled by the well-to-do. "The Athenian Democracy and Its Critics" is concerned with ancient critics of the democracy, particularly Aristotle, Plato, the "Old Oligarch," and Isokrates. Jones states that "in the abundant literature produced in the greatest democracy of Greece there survives no statement of democratic political theory," which Jones attempts to reconstruct. He has much to say about Thucydides and the Athenian relationships with the allies that is worthy of meditation and debate. "The Social Structure of Athens in the Fourth Century B.C." portrays a society in which wealth was evenly distributed, with the exception of a small group of the wealthy and a small group of casual laborers. "How Did the Athenian Democracy Work?" is a valuable study of the machinery of government, with particular attention paid to functions of *boule* and *ekklesia*. It is reminiscent of (but does not repeat) A. W. Gomme's "The Working of the Athenian Democracy," in *History* (Feb.-June, 1951), a paper that should be more widely known. The appendix, "The Citizen Population of Athens during the Peloponnesian War," should be read in conjunction with Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C.* (1933). The great merits of this work are three: it can be read with profit by any intelligent student, whether or not he knows Greek; it includes an immense amount of information that is not found in textbooks; it combats, on the basis of evidence, much

of the myth about democracy and empire that has been disseminated in classrooms and lecture halls during the past twenty years.

University of British Columbia

MACOLM F. MCGREGOR

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. By *James B. Pritchard*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 263. \$5.00.) The purpose of this small volume is to give a popular account of the way in which our understanding of the Old Testament has been affected by archaeological discoveries of the past hundred years. J. B. Pritchard, who has contributed an impressive share to field work in Palestine (most recently at Gibeon) and to comprehensive scholarly studies in the ancient Near East (in his two volumes: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* and *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*), undertakes the task of popularization on the basis of sound and scholarly knowledge. To what extent his effort is influenced by the nature of rival journalistic publications is clear from the admission in the preface: "I have tried to satisfy in a measure, by some specific details, the general curiosity as to who the archaeologists were, how they chanced to take up their occupation, who supported them, how they lived and worked in the field, and what were the costs of exploration and excavation." It can fortunately be stated that the gossip element is kept in the background. The organization and selection of the abundant subject matter is good. Palestine is the topic of the first two chapters, with an excursus on the archaeological technique of pottery analysis. Stratification and digging techniques might have been referred to more explicitly in view of the recent improvement in standards. The account then deals with Canaan and proceeds to Mesopotamia, where it dwells for three chapters in accordance with the essential value of Mesopotamian culture as a background to Old Testament studies. Reference to Egypt is incidental. As an introduction for the layman this book is fully recommended. It reads well, the illustrations are clear and interesting (the map in front would profit by simpler lettering, and a general map of Palestine remains a desideratum), and for once a popular book gives one the comfortable feeling that the author knows his subject matter professionally. The archaeologist misses an occasional critical note to warn the innocent reader that the end does not justify the means in field archaeology. The student of history will be familiar with some of the contents, and the present volume serves best as a light introduction to the indispensable scholarly volumes by Pritchard cited above.

Bryn Mawr College

MACHTELD J. MELLINK

THE MYTH OF ROME'S FALL. By *Richard Mansfield Haywood*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1958. Pp. 178. \$3.50.) This book gives a sketchy account of the Roman Empire through five centuries. Mr. Haywood contrasts the good government and prosperity of the second century with the disintegration of the third, and then passes on to the stabilization effected by Diocletian and Constantine and the decline in the West that set in after the death of Theodosius I. He takes not merely the government and military affairs into view, but discusses briefly the economic problems and general culture at different times, and also the rise and spread of Christianity. At the end of the preface he remarks: "I believe that the book reflects the general state of scholarly opinion on the subject as revealed in the partial studies of many scholars, but the structure and the whole course of the argument are my own." It is difficult to find anything original in his argument. It is common knowledge that many of the Germanic invaders admired Roman institutions; that some modicum of Roman culture lingered on in the western provinces even as late as the sixth century; and that the senatorial

aristocracy in Rome was the last bulwark of an expiring paganism. The author is fond of suppositions. If officials had not been so corrupt, there would have been no Battle of Adrianople; if the sons of Theodosius I had been abler, the situation in the West might have been saved, and so on. This is shadowboxing and it is hard to see what purpose it serves. The growing oppression of the masses by taxation and other devices in the fourth century and the deterioration and loss of manpower in the armies of the later fourth and fifth centuries are facts and cannot be explained away. It is quite true that the loss of the Western Empire was no sudden catastrophe but a slow process; that is not, however, a new observation. Haywood is also fond of drawing historical analogies between Roman and modern times. It is difficult to trust the historical judgment of a writer who can seriously compare the Roman Empire in the fourth century with the British Empire in the nineteenth.

Ithaca, New York

M. L. W. LAISTNER

KONSTANTIN DER GROSSE. By *Herman Dörries*. [Urban-Bücher die wissenschaftliche Taschenbuchreihe, Number 29.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1958. Pp. 192, 16 plates. DM 4.80.) Constantine has never lacked attention. In the last four decades, however, historians have shown a heightened interest in the problem the great Emperor left to later ages. Why did he insist upon making the world so sharply aware of Christianity and why did he bring about an alliance of church and state? These questions and their ramifications fascinate Dörries and he conveys the fascination of the subject with power and persuasiveness in this sequel to his earlier study *Das Selbstzeugnis Kaiser Konstantins*, which was published at Göttingen in 1954. To Dörries the Emperor played a heroic part in history and exerted a lasting influence on later centuries. Constantine is represented as being fully aware of the consequences of his decisions, even, for example, in the case of the temple which he allowed to be erected in his honor at Hispellum. If he took pleasure in glitter and grandeur, he also knew humility and kindness. To some readers the well-known Church historian will appear to have used the artist's prerogatives to the full in his arrangement of the lighting and his posing of the subject. Others will be disappointed not to find more critical discussion of the views of Alföldi, Baynes, Lot, Piganiol, and Schwartz, to name only a few. This book must *withal* be considered a valuable and exciting contribution. Dörries makes it impossible not to recognize that Constantine took positive action in a time of crisis when visibility was poor, that he had to grope his way in trying circumstances, and that his decisions were remarkably sound and extraordinarily helpful in the Middle Ages. He carried out his mission as he saw it. "So hat er ein Zeitalter beschlossen und ein neues eröffnet." The wonder is that power could corrupt him so little, that he could accomplish so much.

Stanford University

WILLIAM C. BARK

THE HOMILIES OF PHOTIUS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE. English translation, introduction and commentary by *Cyril Mango*. [Dumbarton Oaks Studies, Number 3.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 327. \$6.00.) This volume presents for the first time in one collection and, unfortunately only in English translation, all eighteen of Photius' homilies, which are thus far known to be completely preserved. They belong apparently to his first patriarchate (858-867) and are important, though largely neglected, Byzantine cultural monuments and historical sources. Dr. Mango has performed his task with exemplary method. As a basis for his translation he has collated the best existing editions with the manuscripts and thus established in effect a new, critical text, whose numerous departures from the editions are noted wherever they affect the sense. The translation itself is as exact and literal as

possible, but manages to be idiomatic and readable. The discussion of the meager manuscript tradition and of the text history and the attempt to determine more precisely the occasion and date of each homily necessarily leave many questions undecided, but clearly state the pertinent facts and correct a number of current misconceptions. The notes indicate sources and give historical as well as philological comments. This work is thus a valuable appendage to the accepted texts and must be used in conjunction with them until the much-desired critical edition appears.

Georgetown University

JOHN SONGSTER, S.J.

THE *SUMMA CONTRA HAERETICOS*, ASCRIBED TO PRAEPOSITINUS OF CREMONA. By *Joseph N. Garvin* and *James A. Corbett*. [Publications in Mediaeval Studies, Number 15.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1958. Pp. lviii, 302. \$7.50.) This is the first complete edition of the text of the *Summa contra haereticos*. The late George Lacombe assigned it to Praepositinus (Prévostin) of Cremona, Chancellor of Paris, 1206-1210. But the editors do not commit themselves strongly on authorship, limiting themselves to dating the work at the end of the twelfth century, when the heresies criticized were flourishing. The edition is well done and scholarly, and is based on a thorough study and collation of the known manuscripts, which are carefully described. The printing of the text and apparatus of variants is excellent, and therefore a reliable edition is now available to students of the Cathari and the Passagini. On the whole, the editors have done all that is needed in editing the work. Perhaps, however, a brief discussion of the *Summa* as a reliable source for understanding the doctrines of the heretics is a desideratum. Possibly the editors thought that Lacombe and A. Borst, *Die Katharer* (1953), were sufficient on the subject.

University of Wisconsin

GAINES POST

UNA FONTE MEDIEVALE FALSA E IL SUO PRESUNTO AUTORE SALADINO DE CASTRO SARZANE E ALFONSO CECCARELLI. By *Geo Pistarino*. [Università de Genova, Istituto di Storia Medievale e Moderna, Fonti e Studi, II.] (Genoa: [the Istituto.] 1958. Pp. 435.) This book with its inscrutable title is an edition and study of a forged notarial chartulary—of all unlikely fakes! On the basis of much minute analysis, Pistarino concludes that the chartulary purporting to contain the contracts of the notary Saladino from Sarzana (a small town of Lunigiana about halfway between Pisa and Genoa) over the years 1294-1295 was in fact forged in the sixteenth century, apparently by Alfonso Ceccarelli, for reasons not fully ascertainable. Pistarino has exposed a fraud that has already misled many historians in many, though minor, ways in regard to the history of Lunigiana. He has further produced a solid diplomatic study of a rare if not unique kind of forgery. For these reasons we must be grateful to him. Still, for the many historians who are finding in Italy's notarial chartularies sources of seemingly limitless wealth, the major problem is not so much authenticity as accessibility. From the late thirteenth century, these chartularies have survived by the hundreds. The work of publishing them goes slowly, as the laborers are few. Pistarino is an able and experienced editor. Would he not have been better advised to edit an authentic thirteenth-century chartulary from Sarzana, and compress this book into an appendix, by which the scholarly world could have been informed of his important findings?

Bryn Mawr College

DAVID HERLIHY

PETRARCH'S EIGHT YEARS IN MILAN. By *Ernest Hatch Wilkins*. [Mediaeval Academy of America Publication Number 69.] (Cambridge, Mass.: the Academy. 1958. Pp. xx, 266. \$8.00.) The present study, a detailed and intimate biography of Petrarch

during his sojourn at Milan from 1353 to 1361 under the patronage of the Visconti, embodies an attempt "to utilize all existing evidence as to his outer and inner experiences in this period." It may be stated at once that this exacting task, replete with notoriously complex problems of chronology, has been discharged with a sensitivity and erudition eloquent of the author's long devotion to his subject. The blend of biographical detail and inner experience here presented is perfectly adapted to furnish a *pictura vivens* of Petrarch, who was always keenly responsive to the flux of time and circumstance. Petrarch is depicted *con amore*, and his much-criticized decision to accept the patronage of the Visconti in face of the warm protests of Boccaccio and other Florentine admirers is powerfully defended. One finds, however, some difficulty in escaping the impression that Petrarch displayed on that occasion a certain lack of candor in his apologia to his friends. He could not safely assume that the Visconti would afford him hospitality and would scrupulously refrain from requesting a *quid pro quo*. Further, if he had already sent messengers to test the terrain in Milan, his reluctance to accept the personal invitation of Archbishop Giovanni Visconti could scarcely have been more than formal. The reproaches of Boccaccio should also be considered in the light of the persistent attempts, described by Cipolla fifty years ago, to prevail upon Petrarch to settle in Florence. The episode revealed that the poet's concept of *libertas*, the crux of the debate, differed *toto caelo* from the political significance attached to it by Boccaccio. The author has wisely refrained from overburdening his study with excursions into the history of the age; but on occasion a few words of historical commentary would have further enlightened the reader. The lively interest of John II of France and the Dauphin Charles in Petrarch's discourse on Fortune during the mission to Paris in 1361 was clearly prompted by the intense current discussion on the respective parts that Fortune and human defects played in the military disasters recently inflicted on France by the English. Finally, the "significant literary and spiritual re-orientation" of Petrarch in 1360 ought perhaps to be related to the serious illness of the poet in that year. The experience certainly did not produce a radical revision of Petrarch's *Todesgedanke*, which retained its naturalistic and Stoic elements. But these are minor matters. This is a work of notable scholarship and literary quality; and it will be a *vade mecum* for all students of Petrarch.

McGill University

C. C. BAYLEY

Modern History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

THE QUEEN'S WARDS: WARDSHIP AND MARRIAGE UNDER ELIZABETH I. By Joel Hurstfield. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. xxii, 366. \$7.50.) This book is primarily a study of the role of feudal wardship in Elizabethan society and government. Mr. Hurstfield has presented a balanced account where a less discriminating historian might have been satisfied with a mere indictment. The sale of wardships belonging to the crown produced "abuses" which must be understood in light of the contemporary situation. For instance, many guardians forced their wards to marry for mercenary reasons, but parents often did the same with their children. The Court of Wards did not take its responsibility to protect the interests of wards lightly, especially during Lord Burghley's long tenure as its Master, but its officials had opportunities for corruption in administering the sale of wardships. The fees and gifts that they took from suitors were sometimes difficult to distinguish from extortions and

bribes. Elizabeth I received only a fourth of the profits of wardship, but most of the unofficial profits—those made on wardships purchased from the crown at less than the market price for resale—went to otherwise underpaid officials. Feudal wardship provided an indirect means of taxing the landed classes to help meet the cost of government. Robert Cecil, as Master of the Wards, proposed to abolish it in return for a guaranteed annual revenue, but neither James I nor Parliament would accept the "Great Contract." Particularly valuable are Hurstfield's chapters on Tudor marriage and "corruption" in administration. There are also interesting subsidiary points about the significance of wardship revenue to an understanding of both Henry VIII's disposal of monastic lands and the Statute of Uses, and about the happy implications for North America of the "manor of East Greenwich" clause in colonial land grants. Hurstfield has turned out an important and well written book based on a careful search and judicious appraisal of scattered sources.

West Virginia University

MORTIMER LEVINE

THE COUNCIL IN THE MARCHES OF WALES UNDER ELIZABETH I. By *Perry Williams*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1958. Pp. xiv, 385. 42s.) Since its publication in 1904 the standard work on the Council in the Marches of Wales has been that of Miss C. A. J. Skeel, whose book covered the entire period of the Council's existence, from the fifteenth century till its abolition in 1689. Now, with respect to the reign of Elizabeth I, it has been superseded by the present volume. After an introductory chapter tracing the history of the Council to 1558, Mr. Williams plunges into the heart of his work, a careful and detailed description of the Council's powers, membership, procedure, finances, administrative duties, and relations both with the central government and with subordinate local jurisdictions. These chapters constitute a genuine and important contribution to Tudor administrative history; they also represent the result of a very careful combing and very intelligent use of source material. Very few of the Council's records have survived, as Williams points out in a bibliographical appendix; he has had to piece together his story from very scattered sources to flesh out the skeleton provided by the series of *Instructions* to the president of the Council, seven of which survive from Elizabeth's reign. Williams then concludes his book with a series of chapters on the personalities and activities of the men who ran the Council, concentrating especially on Sir Henry Sidney and Lord Pembroke, who between them presided over the Council for over forty years. The book does have its faults. Williams' writing is occasionally repetitious. Furthermore, like many other writers of administrative history, he concentrates so closely on the administrative mechanism that he sometimes loses sight of what it was administering—which is a complicated way of saying that Williams might profitably have told us more about the condition of Wales and the effect on Wales of the Council's activities. But these weaknesses do not seriously detract from the value of an excellent monograph.

Princeton University

MAURICE LEE, JR.

EXETER, 1540-1640: THE GROWTH OF AN ENGLISH COUNTY TOWN. By *Wallace T. MacCaffrey*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 35.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. 311. \$5.50.) Mr. Wallace MacCaffrey has produced a fine piece of historical writing, analysis, and scholarship that endeavors to mirror in microcosm the macrocosm of the Tudor-Stuart world. *Exeter, 1540-1640* is the portrait of a community in which kings and dynastic policy, privy councilors, and religious issues are gathered up and absorbed into the drama of daily and provincial existence. Three threads are interwoven into the fabric of local and civic history: the

grip of medieval attitudes upon the daily aims and organization of the city, the introverted perspectives and horizons of most Englishmen, and the successful paternalism and collectivistic character of urban life. The "cake of custom" is nowhere more apparent than in the structure and organization of the city. Yet within the ancient framework there was growth, dynamism, and adaptation to the realities of the new economic impulses of Tudor society. As MacCaffrey states it, Exeter merchants "showed a genius for manipulating existing institutions to meet new needs." Economic and social forces confronted the borough's ruling oligarchy with many of the same problems that plagued the royal government. The city's financial plight was not unlike that faced by the royal government, since neither the borough nor the crown could "live on its own" in an era of rising costs and governmental obligations. Likewise, the answer of both was similar—the efforts to find new revenues within the existing medieval structure. Possibly the most valuable aspect of this study is the relationship between the government in Westminster and its subordinate administrative parts. England was, as MacCaffrey points out, "a hybrid political society in which a centralized monarchy existed side by side with a kind of confederation of local political interests, municipal, regional, professional, and class, all held together in a certain rough unity by the powerful hand of the monarchy, yet stubbornly retaining in wide areas independence of aims and of actions." Much of the story deals with the struggle between these separate identities for the patronage and favor of the royal government and with the conflict with the crown when city and royal interests clashed. This is the kind of book that has value for a wide variety of readers. From the point of view of the Tudor historian, MacCaffrey has written a gem of scholarship, and though his story is restricted to a single city, the light he throws upon Tudor-Stuart England far exceeds the technical limits of his book.

Northwestern University

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH

THE COUNTRY CLERGY IN ELIZABETHAN AND STUART TIMES, 1558-1660. By *A. Tindal Hart*. (London: Phoenix House Ltd. 1958. Pp. 180. 21s.) Dr. Hart, an English rector and rural dean, has done three studies of the rural (i.e., town and country) clergy in England. This volume, on the Tudor-Stuart period, deals briefly with the pre-Elizabethan Tudor background, and devotes most of its pages to four chapters on the rural clergy under Elizabeth, James I, Charles I, and during the Civil Wars. A final chapter presents brief sketches of several typical rural parsons of the period. Hart does not present any new findings about the English Church or clergy. Rather, his work is an assemblage from a goodly array of published materials of data on the education, morals, finances, duties, routine, etc., of the average cleric. He argues that for the English clergy a low point of demoralization had been reached by the accession of Elizabeth. Despite these rather bleak beginnings of Anglicanism (as he would define it) under Elizabeth, however, gradual improvement took place all along the line until Laud's era. Under the Laudian policy of "thorough" there was a retrogression that brought on the Civil Wars. During these wars and during the Commonwealth, the typical country cleric "sat out" the storm, though many a royalist rural parson suffered severely under the Roundheads. But the country cleric, qua cleric, went his way about as usual. The interpretation of the general history of the Tudor-Stuart period is at times questionable, e.g., the Marian exiles seem all to have been in Geneva; Calvin was interested in only four doctrines; the Elizabethan episcopate is here depicted as quite too much of one common official mind; and the role of the crown in the Church is not given the place it actually had. Theological thought and development are scarcely treated. What did the cleric think about himself as a cleric? What did he try to do, and why?

Chicago, Illinois

L. J. TRINTERUD

VICTORY: THE LIFE OF LORD NELSON. By *Oliver Warner*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1958. Pp. xi, 393. \$6.50.) "In addition to being England's greatest sailor this remarkable man was a dozen other kinds of human being as well." So writes Nicholas Monsarrat of Lord Nelson in an introduction to Oliver Warner's biography. This latest of volumes on Nelson appears on the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth, and the tone of the work is balance. The result is a clear work delineating the man without really explaining him. There is a lack of material on the early part of Nelson's life and his career during the 1770's when he sailed to the West Indies, the Arctic, and the East Indies. Here the author ably follows the practice of incidental history, giving details of the ships upon which Nelson served to fill in the picture. From 1787 to 1793 Nelson was ashore and this method fails; thus Nelson in his early thirties is obscure. From 1793 there is abundant material and the bulk of the book treats it clearly. The chief discovery of Warner is another of Nelson's female acquaintances, a certain Dolly at Leghorn in 1794 and 1795. It is perhaps inevitable that to explain Nelson the hero, scholarship has turned to Nelson the lover. The battles are well known, perhaps even tedious in detail, while the many female relationships in varied settings, are romantic and human. The Lady Hamilton episode was intertwined with his Mediterranean duties and hindered them. Thus the temptation is great to explore the love affairs and not the man as naval commander. This is exactly the tendency of Warner's book; it deals inordinately with Nelson's loves. A great deal of space is spent on the Hamiltons. Warner is successful here in achieving a balance, for he is fair to Sir William Hamilton and shows his part in an unusual situation. In terms of Emma, the author is more profane, Nelson's wife, and sympathetically shows the difficulty and heartbreak of her position. However, Nelson's significance is not as a lover, but as leader, tactician, and sailor. In a portrait of balance Nelson works against Warner, since the life was extremely rich in both peacetime and wartime naval experience. Nelson at the Nile, at Copenhagen, or at Trafalgar each give the author too much to deal with in a portrait of balance of some three hundred pages. The result is to dilute and the explanation of the Nelson touch is vague. Fame, duty, hatred, vanity, doggedness in detail of battle, and resourcefulness are all part of Warner's description, and the personal traits of the man are well and even humorously brought out; yet something evades. Also, for the general reader the major battles should have been put in a broader framework. There are a number of reproductions of charming Nelson portraits, samples of his letters, and good diagrams of the three major battles. Unfortunately there is a lack of maps. Warner's portrait does have definite merit in presenting in compact and clear form the main lines of the multifacet character of Nelson's life.

Harvard University

LEIGHTON SHIELDS, JR.

LABOUR AND POLITICS, 1900-1906: A HISTORY OF THE LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE. By *Frank Bealey* and *Henry Pelling*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 313. \$7.00.) With the advantage of access to many party and private records, Henry Pelling and Frank Bealey have collaborated to produce this sequel to the former's *Origins of the Labour Party*. It is critical, objective, and up to the standard of the earlier work. It deals with the first labor group in the House of Commons, but the center of interest rather than in Westminster is in the constituencies and in the trade-unions and socialist societies that in 1900 formed the Labour Representation Committee. The role of the Independent Labour party is emphasized. There is note, too, of the close correlation in this period between religious affiliation and political behavior; in most of Britain nonconformity usually implied Liberal or Labour politics. The authors pinpoint the 1903 Newcastle conference of the LRC as a turning point in recent British politics, because there the reluctant trade-unions, alarmed by the Taff Vale

and other legal decisions, finally accepted the need for a tight political organization supported by adequate funds. It was a portent. It so frightened the Liberal whips that they no longer ignored the demand for independent labor representation and indicated their willingness to make a political deal. James Ramsay MacDonald then negotiated a secret arrangement with Herbert Gladstone whereby the LRC received a free hand in some thirty constituencies in return for friendliness in the far larger number where Labour would abstain. The outcome was not only the tremendous Liberal victory of 1906 but also the appearance of twenty-nine labor men in the Commons who promptly formed the parliamentary Labour party. At the time the Liberals rejoiced over the success of the pact, but an unforeseen result was their decline as a major party and replacement by Labour. In this story Ramsay MacDonald appears as a very astute politician.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

THE MEMOIRS OF FIELD-MARSHAL THE VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN, K. G. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company, c. 1958. Pp. 508. \$6.00.) In this volume, Britain's Field Marshal Montgomery adds his personal memoirs to the growing literature of World War II. His reflections necessarily cover much of the same ground and operations as do his earlier *Alamein to the River Sangro*, devoted to the operations of England's Eighth Army while under his command, and *Normandy to the Baltic*, which serves a like purpose for the Twenty-First Army Group. The latter, under Montgomery's command, was General Eisenhower's left wing, so to speak, throughout his liberation of France and conquest of Central Europe to the line of the Elbe, Pilsen, and Austria. For the future historian, interested primarily in operational facts and achievements, the foregoing volumes have more to offer. These personal memoirs are of value largely because of their revelations as to the character, philosophy, and personal views of the most eccentric Field Marshal in English history, who, at the same time, must be recognized as England's most successful field commander since the Duke of Wellington. But the future military historian will have to read as far as page 317 before he discovers that Montgomery considers himself somewhat better than the Duke. Even so, Montgomery's uninhibited frankness is as refreshing as it is revealing, though at times his argumentative paragraphs do sink to hindsight, mawkish maunderings of things-that-might-have-been. These qualities, however, enabled his publishers, by release of excerpts for advance serialization in *Life Magazine*, to give the volume a prepublication promotion unequalled since the post-World War I claque for the memoirs of T. E. Lawrence of Arabia. While these prepublication excerpts created a rash of delightful journalistic disputes and, let us hope, fattened the Field Marshal's royalty checks, the book, taken in its entirety, is not so derogatory of Americans and American leadership as its current reputation would lead one to believe. Actually, Montgomery is far more brutally severe in his strictures upon some of his English civilian and military associates. Wittingly or unwittingly, Montgomery reveals himself as an able and inspiring leader but a most difficult, cantankerous, opinionated, conceited, and just short of insubordinate number two man. A team man he was not. That, added to all the problems inherent in any joint military operations of allied armies, General Eisenhower was able to utilize and coordinate to the common cause the admitted talents of a subordinate of such arrogant, unbridled personal ambitions as the book reveals, reflects far more credit to Eisenhower's genius for leadership than the author's hindsight criticisms can subtract.

Wisconsin State College, Superior

JIM DAN HILL

BONDSMEN AND BISHOPS: SLAVERY AND APPRENTICESHIP ON THE CODRINGTON PLANTATIONS OF BARBADOS, 1710-1838. By J. Harry Bennett, Jr. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXII.] (Berkeley: Uni-

versity of California Press, 1958. Pp. ix, 176. \$3.50.) This is a distinguished contribution to the literature of plantation operation under the slave regime. By drawing upon the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's archives, an investigator has found it possible for the first time to employ records dealing with a single West Indian agricultural enterprise for a protracted period. Perspective afforded by a substantial time sweep has made possible both freshness of approach and new interpretations—hence the significance of this monograph. Somewhat bewildered Society officials, suddenly finding themselves possessed of two Caribbean estates designed to finance an island training center for missionaries to work among the blacks, proceeded by the trial-and-error method. After experimenting with direct exploitation, leasing, and direction by a factor, they ultimately settled upon the last as the most practical means of capitalizing on their windfall. Bowing to Barbadian public opinion, Codrington College was allowed to degenerate into a low-grade hybrid grammar and charity school. Operations were actually suspended for one fourteen-year interval. Shamefully enough, the noble objectives of its socially conscious founder were completely defeated until the eve of emancipation. When plantation population could not be maintained because of high mortality rates among newly imported Africans, gangs of trained workers were engaged for seasonal tasks, but the practice was abandoned in 1761 in favor of purchasing costly seasoned blacks. Then a new policy developed under which monies hitherto spent in hiring or buying Negroes were employed in improving the lot of slaves so that they would reproduce themselves. Economically speaking, amelioration became a vital part of a crass breeding experiment. Labor costs nonetheless continued staggering and, with freedom approaching, in 1833 an allotment system was launched with fair success. This regime aimed at maintaining a substantial labor force by giving the Negroes personal stakes in the estates.

Ohio State University

LOWELL RAGATZ

EARLY NEW ZEALAND: A DEPENDENCY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, 1788-1841. By E. J. Tapp. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959. Pp. xi, 192. \$6.50.) This addition to the still uncrowded shelf of historical works about New Zealand is a study of New South Wales influences upon that area. The author examines the period from early exploration to the end of political dependence upon Sydney, touching upon the interaction and conflicts between profit-seekers (trade, flax cultivation, whaling, and sealing), missionaries, Maori tribes, and the administrators in New South Wales and at the Colonial Office in London. This work would appear to establish the importance of Sydney enterprise in opening New Zealand and establishing a *de facto* British claim. These activities and the brutal impact of sealer and whaler crews precipitated the hostility between Maori and the *pakeha*, and account for the opposition of the Church Missionary Society to plans for colonization of New Zealand. Such humanitarian influences pressed for extension of British law to the islands in 1817 and, in uncomfortable alliance with economic interests, supported the appointment of a British resident in 1832. This regime provided the means by which the Colonial Office, still much influenced by Exeter Hall and the Clapham Sect, finally established New Zealand as a separate colony. During this phase the wise action of Governor Sir George Gipps of New South Wales blocked a number of magnificently audacious land grabs by William Charles Wentworth and other land sharks. The author has used New Zealand, Australian, and British resources extensively and to good effect. The result is a sober and systematic account. The book contains maps for the 1830 and 1839 periods, illustrations by contemporary artists, and appendixes covering significant documents and statistics.

Colgate University

CHARLES S. BLACKTON

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON AND THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA. By *Roland Oliver*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 368. \$6.75.) This excellent biography, written by the leading British authority on the partition of Africa, combines disciplined and imaginative scholarship with extremely fine prose. Sir Harry Johnston was one of the foremost of the late-Victorian imperialists. He set out on his career as an African explorer and administrator just as the partition was beginning, and from 1883 to 1888 he skipped rapidly from one crucial area to another, from the Congo to East Africa to the Niger delta. He then settled down for six hard years of work first as concession hunter and then as British commissioner in Nyasaland. His last appointment, before ill fortune and blackwater fever abruptly ended his career in the British service, was to Uganda, where as special commissioner he drew up the monumental Buganda Agreement of 1900. Johnston was versatile and imaginative, with a far richer and no less effective and resolute personality than many of his contemporary empire builders. He is an attractive as well as a significant subject for biography, and Dr. Oliver has done him full justice both as a personality and as a personage. In Johnston's life the author has, besides, found plentiful opportunities to comment widely and well upon some of the general historical problems of the scramble. He writes with authority about the work of the African Department of the Foreign Office and with familiarity about its witty or dull, good-tempered or mean members. He discusses Cecil Rhodes at some length, both as the "paymaster" who made possible the acquisition and early administration of Nyasaland and as the "pawnbroker" who tried to force Johnston and the Foreign Office to cede extensive land and mineral rights to the South Africa Company. Most interesting, perhaps, is Oliver's new insight into Lord Salisbury's purposes and methods in the decade of partition. He clearly dates and explains the change in the focus of Salisbury's interest from western to eastern Africa and establishes once and for all Salisbury's character as a not at all reluctant imperialist.

Memphis, Tennessee

MARIE DE KIEWIET HEMPHILL

THE BOER WAR. By *Edgar Holt*. (London: Putnam; distrib. by British Book Centre, New York. 1958. Pp. 317. \$6.00.) This is a popular rather than a technical and scholarly account. Holt offers an impressive list of "Books Consulted" but no footnotes; interesting illustrations but, except for end plates, no maps; and general narrative rather than detailed movement of regiments and placement of artillery. He gives almost a third of his space to introductory material; about 150 pages to the dramatic early months of British defeats and frustrations, including the sieges of Kimberley, Ladysmith, and Mafeking, and to Lord Roberts' marches to Bloemfontein and Pretoria; and only the sixty remaining pages to the guerrilla war and peace negotiations. Interesting sidelights are generally well explored: Sir George Colley dies at Majuba, Jameson raids the Transvaal, Rhodes quarrels with the Kimberley commander, the better-known personalities (including Winston Churchill) come alive, we see the "Biograph" and newspapermen at work, the pro-Boer politicians and excited London crowds are there, we learn that 350,000 of 520,000 horses died or were killed in action, and glimpse military equipment, transport, and the soldiers' life on the veldt. Holt slips on occasion: the mere destruction of crops, cattle, and supplies ought to be distinguished from "farm burning"; it should be noted that burghers were required to accompany women and children admitted to camps toward the end of the war; and the war surely cost more than £2,500,000 per month in 1901. More serious, however, is Holt's predilection for the usual interpretations and his failure to ask large or searching questions. He entertains and informs but he does not provoke thought. For example, he treats only superficially the major criticism of Roberts' strategy, that he moved his armies forward by

flanking the Boers out of position rather than by devising ways of crushing them. Also, he fails to analyze Britain's objectives in the war and to ask whether the conduct of the war was well or poorly calculated to achieve them. He neglects the general significance of the war. But this is criticism of Holt's purpose and not of his execution. Within the limits set, he has given us a sound and very readable account that college students and general readers should enjoy.

Long Beach State College

RICHARD H. WILDE

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by J. R. M. Butler. THE BRITISH MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN THE FAR EAST, 1943-46. By F. S. V. Donnison. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1956. Pp. xviii, 483. \$7.46 postpaid.) The title of this book does not do justice to its subject, for it does not deal, as one would suppose, with the administration of British forces in the Far East but rather with civil affairs and military government in Burma, Malaya, Borneo, and Hong Kong—areas formerly occupied by the British and in which they expected to assert their rule after the war as they had before. It is this that gives the volume its greatest interest. Mr. Donnison, who was a civil servant in Burma for many years and civil affairs officer during the war, brings to this subject a firsthand experience in colonial administration and a wide knowledge of the area. He describes the dissolution of the civil power under Japanese attack, the gradual assumption of responsibility by military authorities in the areas still under Allied control, the development of policies and plans for military government of the reoccupied areas, and finally the problems encountered when the Allied armies moved back into the former colonies. Of the five parts into which the volume is divided, the last two will be of especial interest to the student of Southeast Asia. Part IV, unlike the other parts which are organized on a geographical basis, deals with a number of general problems common to all areas—finance, trade, industry, administration of justice, relief of civilians, handling of refugees, labor policy, and propaganda. The last part of the book is of greatest interest to the nonmilitary student. Here the author deals with military government at the political level and expands his coverage to include Indochina and Indonesia, where the British had political though not administrative responsibility. The six chapters in this portion of the volume treat in turn the political problems created by the rise of nationalism in Burma, Malaya, Indochina, and Indonesia. Though the problems in each differ, the basic cause was the same—a great surge of nationalistic feeling among the inhabitants released first from Western control by the Japanese and then of Japanese domination by their former rulers. It is one of the ironies of World War II that the victors of that war, when they liberated Southeast Asia from Japanese rule, released the forces that ultimately lost them their colonies in the Far East.

Department of the Army

LOUIS MORTON

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by Sir James Butler. THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN, Volume II, INDIA'S MOST DANGEROUS HOUR. By Major-General S. Woodburn Kirby et al. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1958. Pp. xvii, 541. \$10.22 postpaid.) This is the second of the five-volume official interservice history of the war against Japan that is being written from the viewpoint of British officers who served in the Far East. The authors recount the loss of Burma in 1942, which laid India open to imminent invasion by the Japanese. That capability, however, was affected by the great American naval victories of Midway and the Coral Sea, and

the course of war in the entire theater was dramatically reversed; British commanders in the area then turned their attention to the problem of recapturing Burma. This book tells how the plans for Burma's liberation, despite frequent frustrations, were finally realized; large-scale operations behind enemy lines (the *Chindits*) are described in detail for the first time. Failures and successes of both friend and enemy are factually presented and knowledgeably analyzed. In addition to presenting much that is new in this authoritative treatment of the Burma campaign, the authors have successfully incorporated the many disparate and little-known aspects of war in that area into a clear and cohesive narrative. They have presented information on the Pacific (an American theater) "only in sufficient outline to allow the reader to follow its progress and maintain a balanced view of the war as a whole." The device is laudable and helpful, but the detail in this outline is not always completely accurate. These non-British, non-Burma matters are gratuities, however, and minor inaccuracies in their telling do not detract from the validity and great value of the book for its principal coverage. Many excellent charts—well organized and positioned—and uniformly good pictures supplement the text of this interesting work, and nearly one hundred pages of appendixes provide further engrossing material for the student of diplomacy and war in the Far East.

Washington, D. C.

ROGER PINEAU

IRELAND AND THE AMERICAN EMIGRATION, 1850-1900. By *Arnold Schrier*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1958. Pp. x, 210. \$4.50.) A phenomenon in the form of a mass movement of people took place in the nineteenth century. Although Ireland's population seldom exceeded eight million, nearly five million Irish emigrated from 1845 to 1900, largely to the United States. In this book the author scrutinizes the influence of this Irish emigration on Ireland. In discussing the image of the United States that was created in the minds of the Irish, Dr. Schrier credits the emigrants' letters to the people at home as their greatest single source of knowledge about America. Unfortunately he has been able to locate only 222 letters of the millions that he shows conclusively were written, a very small sample from which to draw final conclusions regarding their impact. The author, however, uses them well in showing what information the Irish were receiving that might help them to decide about emigrating. As the tide of emigration increased, cries of protest became more evident in the newspapers. The analysis of the arguments of the various political and religious interests is excellent. One question is unanswered. Did the newspapers have any effect on the politicians and government officials in shaping their stands on Irish emigration? The impact of emigration on the Irish economy is shown to have been beneficial, serving as a safety valve by reducing pressure on land and removing an oversupply of labor. Agriculture and land holdings benefited, while emigration had little effect on Irish industry. Numerous Irish customs developed as a result of emigration. Most outstanding was the "American wake," the adaptation of the Irish death ceremony to the departure of the living. American money helped Ireland in two ways. Forty per cent of the total helped by prepaying passages; some of the balance was used to buy farms, although much was received in sums too small to be very helpful to the general economy. The return of the Irish from America is shown to have had little effect, since comparatively few made the trip back to Ireland. Schrier has made excellent use of four sources: the letters from America, the extensive verbatim notebooks of the Irish Folklore Commission, his own interviews with people having personal memories of the emigration, and many Irish newspapers. In conclusion, this readable and interesting book provides new light on the social, economic, religious, and political

impact on Ireland, thus broadening our understanding of Irish emigration during this period.

Arlington, Virginia

HOMER L. CALKIN

EUROPE

PARACELSUS: AN INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL MEDICINE IN THE ERA OF THE RENAISSANCE. By *Walter Pagel*. (New York: S. Karger, 1958. Pp. xii, 368. \$16.80.) Dr. Pagel's subtitle indicates that this lengthy biography is more than a life of Theophrastus Philipp Aureolus Bombastus of Hohenheim, alias Paracelsus. Apropos of the lengthy name, Philipp was his given name; Theophrastus and Aureolus were added gratuitously before his thirty-third year; Bombastus was an old family name; Hohenheim was the ancient family estate near Stuttgart; and Paracelsus was a sort of *nom de plume* acquired in late life by reason of his fondness for the prefix "para" (super) in the titles of his works. This term suits him well; he exaggerated, sometimes to the point of ridiculousness, most of the ideas and activities in which he engaged during his short but eventful life (1493-1541). Superaggressiveness and superrestlessness were outstanding in this stormy petrel career. Pagel devotes only about twenty-seven pages to the sketching of Paracelsus' life, spending the remaining 325 pages on "philosophical medicine in the era of the Renaissance." This latter subject includes Paracelsus' own philosophical and medical theories; among them his views on microcosm and macrocosm in human lives, his emphasis on the trinity of mercury, salt, and sulphur, and his chemical innovations in medicine. But much of the book is concerned with the ideas of others as possible sources for those of Paracelsus. Here we feel that the author went too far afield in his analyses, comparisons, and contrasts concerning predecessors, contemporary friends and enemies, and successors (notably Van Helmont, who plays the role of hero of the book). What with extensive descriptions of the ideas of Van Helmont, Erastus, and Sennert (to say nothing of Arnald of Villanova, Ramon Lull, and other medieval forerunners) the reader sometimes wonders whose biography he is reading, if any. In fact, this is not a biography, and perhaps the name Paracelsus should be the subtitle rather than the title of the book. In general, we consider the author's scholarship beyond criticism. Factual data, explanatory notes, and bibliography are impressive. His interpretations of Paracelsus as a man, philosopher, alchemist, astrologer, and doctor are remarkably objective. He depicts faults without excusing them; e.g., Paracelsus' unscientific attitudes, his mystical, Neoplatonic emotionalism, his superstitions, charlatanism, arbitrary unreasoning egotism, etc. On the other hand he credits him with epoch-making contributions in chemistry, miners' diseases, etc., with an independent imagination, and with a Luther-like reforming zeal for the elimination of classical Galenic humoralism. Pagel refuses to paint either a black or a white portrait. The reader emerges with mixed impressions; how could one human personality be such a mass of contradictions? One of Pagel's interpretative summaries leaves a definite conclusion; if it is true (and we do not doubt it) that Paracelsus comes close to Ficino's Renaissance ideal of "the priest-physician," it would seem that Paracelsus and the medical science and philosophy of the Renaissance are more medieval than modern.

University of North Carolina

L. C. MACKINNEY

THE CULT OF AUTHORITY: THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE SAINT-SIMONIANIS. A CHAPTER IN THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF TOTALITARIANISM. By *Georg G. Iggers*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958. Pp. 210. Glds. 14.25.) Mr. Iggers makes the psychological error of putting his reader into a critical frame of mind by being himself aggressively critical of earlier writers and by making

excessive claims for his own work. Thus, when he asserts that his book, unlike the Chicago dissertation of which it is an outgrowth, "attempts to study Saint-Simonian political ideas within the framework of the intellectual history of the early nineteenth century," the reader is less reluctant than usual to retort that the attempt is halfhearted. When he describes his book as "an attempt to contribute to the study of the intellectual roots of modern totalitarianism," this reader agrees instead with his admission elsewhere that "the chain of thought from Enfantin and Bazard to Sorel, Mussolini and Lenin still has to be established" (provided, that is to say, that it exists, which is far from certain). Above all, when he informs us that "in contrast to previous studies, this book utilizes extensively the periodical literature of the period 1829-1832," one must point out that while this is certainly a gain, it would have been even more important—indeed indispensable for a work of intellectual history—to draw on the rich collection of unpublished Saint-Simonian materials in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, which Iggers does not so much as mention. Intellectual historians, like other historians, must bestir themselves to the archives when necessary. This book, then, is not intellectual history; it is a digest and analysis of the published writings of the Saint-Simonians, mostly during those years 1829-1832 only, with scattered references to their predecessors and contemporaries but without elucidating their impact. Both teachers and students will find it very useful, however, within these more modest limits. The principal thesis, that Saint-Simonianism must be viewed as a total and totalitarian and not merely as an economic system, is well worth making and is well made (even if too polemically and with unnecessary moral indignation), although the essentially religious basis of the system is not sufficiently stressed. The contrast between the Saint-Simonians and Comte—insisted upon, again, to refute a previous view (Hayek's)—ignores the pontifical tendencies always latent and eventually explicit in Comte. The book is pleasantly and fluently written, though there are some signs of haste in composition. There is a bibliographical list and an index, and the book is handsomely produced at an attractive price.

Cornell University

W. M. SIMON

STAAT UND GESELLSCHAFT IM WANDEL UNSERER ZEIT: STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Theodor Schieder*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1958. Pp. 207. DM 18.50.) Theodor Schieder, professor at Cologne and coeditor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, presents here a collection of his essays, all but one of which have already appeared in print elsewhere. Yet because a single major theme runs through it, the work is more purposeful than is usually the case with a series of articles issued as a book. What interests the author above all is the relationship in Central Europe between social classes and economic forces on the one hand and civic action on the other. His attention is therefore focused largely on the organization and structure of political parties, which reflect this relationship most clearly. Rejecting the characteristic historicism of German scholarship, he accepts the techniques of sociology as useful tools in analyzing the interaction of ideology and interest. For the price of academic exclusiveness, he maintains, is an estrangement between learning and life. This is history written in a minor key. There is no beating of drums, no flourish of trumpets. The prevailing mood is reflective and subdued, almost diffident. Schieder's heart, one suspects, belongs to the nineteenth century, the heroic epoch of the European bourgeoisie. To him that was the time when ideas still counted for something, when ideals could still inspire the hearts of men. Today the political stage is dominated by the vast impersonal forces of an industrialized age in which there is little room for a private dedication. The author recognizes the weakness of the classic libertarian tradition and acknowledges the emergence of new economic interests

and pressure groups that determine the direction of civic development. And yet he is not entirely at home in the hard world of twentieth-century power politics. Resigned to the rise of a mass civilization, he tries to salvage a sense of humanitarian value from the general debacle of the liberal faith in Central Europe.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

HET GROTE WERK: VREDESONDERHANDELINGEN GEDURENDE DE SPAANSE SUCCESSIE-OORLOG 1705-1710. By J. G. Stork-Penning. [Historische Studies, uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Number 12.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1958. Pp. xxv, 468. Fl. 22.50.) The "great work" of the title of Dr. Stork-Penning's book was a failure, but one worthy of respect for its aim—the reestablishment of peace—and for the persistence with which that goal was sought. The *grande affaire*, to use the more common French form of the expression, was the effort of France and the maritime powers during the years 1705-1710 to terminate the War of the Spanish Succession by a negotiated compromise. Stork-Penning succeeds in bringing both new knowledge and fresh insight to these much-studied episodes. He has looked at them from the Dutch side and with Dutch eyes but, as befits one who publishes under the aegis of Utrecht's Professor Geyl, with sensitivity to and respect for the thoughts and deeds of the other participants. He elucidates, as no non-Dutch writer has done, the attitudes that dominated the minds of Dutch statesmen: the fear of French land power (*Gallus amicus non vicinus*); the obstinate adherence to the English alliance in order to thwart French hegemony; but at the same time, the stinging awareness that the price of the English alliance was subordination to Britain in naval power and in trade, the very means of Dutch greatness and independence. The author has shown greater mastery of his materials than of their presentation. The book is far too long, for apparently no detail of the interminable discussions is overlooked; yet Stork-Penning's skill in analysis makes us confident that he could have safely condensed his narrative and at the same time made the pattern of events emerge more clearly. The writing plods, yet—often in footnotes!—there are flashes of characterization and wit. These blemishes are small, nonetheless, compared to the honest labor, the sound historical sense, and the independence of judgment that make this study valuable.

Elmira College

HERBERT H. ROWEN

THE CONDUCT OF THE DUTCH: BRITISH OPINION AND THE DUTCH ALLIANCE DURING THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION. By Douglas Coombs. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff for the University College of Ghana Publications Board, 1958. Pp. viii, 405. Cloth glds. 30, paper glds. 25.) The author has stated explicitly the scope of his book. "The ultimate purpose of this work is . . . to discover what effect popular feeling had upon official attitudes and policies, and, on the other hand, how much the politicians attempted, and how well they succeeded, in the shaping and control of such feeling." It is not, he adds, a study of Anglo-Dutch relations as such, nor a history of the Grand Alliance. Military history has little part in it. Attention is carefully focused on the shifting attitudes of successive English ministries toward their Dutch ally, and on the use of the press to justify and popularize those shifts. As an impressive bibliography testifies, Professor Coombs has toiled heroically through the vast output of pamphlets and news sheets, not to extract the truth that is not there, but to learn what the employers of the gifted controversialists who wrote the propaganda for the press wished to have pass as truth. He admits fully that "As a guide to public opinion the ephemeral publications of Queen Anne's reign are . . . irremediably corrupt. Yet *faute de mieux* they are indispensable to the student of opinion, for without them

the material at his disposal would be impossibly limited." This brings up the important question that Coombs has evidently pondered as to how public "public opinion" could have been in the reign of Queen Anne. Who bought, read, discussed, and passed on the pamphlets and news sheets? Of these how many cared whether the Dutch did or did not have a defensible barrier, or whether Anjou was or was not to be king of Spain? There is little evidence in the form of popular demonstrations that public feeling was aroused on such remote matters, certainly not as it was aroused by the trial of Sacheverell, or by occasional conformity. One may doubt whether any nation regards another with constant and abiding affection, but even in the seventeenth century there were periods of amicable Anglo-Dutch relations when the tie of a common Protestantism and a common fear of France and popery drew the two nations together. It seems possible that the dreary stalemate of the war, high taxes, and high prices of food may have contributed more than did Tory abuse of the Dutch to the sad debacle of the Grand Alliance. The history of coalitions suggests that they are prone to dissolve even before the end for which they were formed has been achieved. Coombs has provided a highly informative account of the dissolution of this coalition.

Vassar College

VIOLET BARBOUR

LA PREMIÈRE RESTAURATION ET LES CENT JOURS EN ALSACE. By *Paul Leuilliot*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'école pratique des hautes études, VI^e section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1958. Pp. xxxvii, 290. 1,900 fr.) M. Leuilliot's monograph is the product of extensive research in departmental archives at Strasbourg and Colmar as well as in the central collections in Paris and various sets of family papers. These sources, supplemented by countless others in print, have permitted him to follow with meticulous care the vicissitudes of France's easternmost province from the aftermath of Leipzig in 1813 through the invasion and restoration of 1814 and the return from Elba and Napoleon's final defeat to the second resumption of Bourbon sovereignty in 1815. There is much to be learned from looking at this tumultuous period in French history as it affected a sharply defined geographical area. Alsace was scarcely typical of the nation as a whole. Its social, religious, and linguistic traditions were too special to permit its use as an easy base for generalization. Nevertheless, the book presents some arresting examples of certain phenomena that were important for all of France. Here we have the dilemma of Bonapartist officials wrestling with a crisis of conscience and political judgment as they sought with varying degrees of unselfishness to manage Bas-Rhin and Haut-Rhin under conditions of foreign occupation and changes of authority. Here, too, we observe the signs of popular revulsion at the ineptitude and sometimes the ill will of returning royalists. Finally, we are shown the first lineaments of a new, or revived, public image of Napoleon, hero of the Revolution, conqueror of despots. In view of his solid research and careful workmanship, it is too bad that Leuilliot has not managed more successfully to stay "on top" of his material. Repeatedly he takes the reader through long catalogues of official personnel; and while Lezay-Marnesia, the great prefect of Bas-Rhin, was important, the same cannot be said for many of the passing *sous-préfets*. The author's observations on broader problems are so interesting that they deserve to have been less deeply submerged in administrative details.

Harvard University

FRANKLIN L. FORD

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NEWSPAPER PRESS IN FRANCE, 1814-1881. By *Irene Collins*. [Oxford Historical Series: General Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 201. \$4.80.) This study treats a limited but important topic. As the title implies, Irene Collins is concerned with the relationship between

French governments and the political press. The years in question embrace the promise of liberty in the Charter of 1814 and its final realization through the Code of 1881. The story is one of manipulations of the newspaper press by fearful and hostile governments, on the one hand, and persistent attempts at evasion by publishers of political journals on the other. Outright censorship played a relatively small part. Miss Collins' book discusses a bewildering array of muzzling devices, all largely ineffective, as contributions of journalists to France's nineteenth-century revolutions demonstrate. The author finds that only Villèle and Napoleon III achieved firm control. As for government-press relations after 1870, the treatment is highly summary, with some reason, since no truly new elements entered the scene. One might wonder, however, why Miss Collins did not explore more fully the key role of the press freedom controversy in precipitating the crisis of May 16, since this seems pertinent to her topic. Further, in view of the profound significance she rightly attaches to the 1881 legislation, the reader misses a fuller exposition of the details of its enactment. Miss Collins' most substantial contributions lie, first, in the fact that she solidly establishes the statutory base of government press policy by giving the essential parts of the texts in question, and secondly, in having mined a rich vein of archival ore. While she has utilized profitably the standard histories of the French press, specialized monographs, and the relevant memoirs and biographies, she has drawn her material for the most part from a truly impressive acquaintance with official papers. Moreover, she writes well; the book is never a tedious catalogue of laws and prosecutions.

Washington, D. C.

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

THE FRENCH AND THE REPUBLIC. By Charles Morazé. Translated by Jean-Jacques Demorest. (2d ed.; Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 214. \$3.50.) As Mario Einaudi says in the preface, this is a tract for the times. But it is, of course, a good deal more than this succinct description might suggest. Charles Morazé, in attempting to explain the French in geographic, economic, and socio-psychological terms, argues from the basic premise that the contemporary French republics have been the expression of the national passion for theory, of an unwillingness to accept the risks of modern capitalism, of the practice of Malthusianism, of adventurous (but unpractical) courage, and of political insecurity. He has the gift of provocative statement, a far-ranging information, and a lapidary style. The result is an extraordinary display of fireworks, which come thick and fast. Ideas and opinions are hurled out one after another, suggested, barely developed, sometimes picked up later and carried through. His book is an excellent support for one of his chief contentions: that the French formulate their thought "with *éclat*, with splendor—a splendor that has never failed to impress the world, usually somewhat behind France in the domain of intellectual accomplishment." If there is a single over-all conclusion, it may be that the French are a great deal more diverse than the rest of the world's caricature of them, that France is the crossroads of the world still, but that unless her technical progress keeps pace she will lose her position as "the world's microcosm" and become instead "tomorrow's colonized nation." The final chapter (written in the autumn of 1957 for this American translation; the original French edition appeared in 1956) suggests that two courses were open: to follow a path leading toward nationalist solutions of French problems, or to be deflected by the strength of "world cooperation" into paths leading away from the attitudes and preoccupations of the nineteenth-century tradition. But the essay is so rich, so exciting, that it is a distortion to try to reduce Morazé's brilliant talk to any such crude summary. Naturally, so many judgments as one encounters here will not all be equally acceptable. What philosophers of history might make of some of his historical "explanations" (e.g.,

the relationship between railroads and parliamentary government) one does not like to consider. His effort to demonstrate the unique character of France might be thought excessive, failing sometimes in a series of unreal, merely verbal comparisons and contrasts. And his "explanation" of twentieth-century British policy in India seemed to one reader simply wild. So much insistent, and very real, cleverness is bound to exact a price. But all this does not really much matter. Nationalist, Gaullist, perhaps a little bitter, but at the same time extraordinarily cosmopolitan, the essential performance here is a thoroughly enlightening discourse on modern France, her origins, her present troubles (not least, her North African misfortunes), and her prospects.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

SYRIA AND LEBANON UNDER FRENCH MANDATE. By *Stephen Hemsley Longrigg*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 404. \$6.75.) In dealing with Arab questions French specialists have tended to think in terms of minorities who ought to be protected, their British counterparts in terms of emergent nationalisms that should be nurtured. Accordingly, the experience of the French in Syria and Lebanon has been the subject of a bitter debate. Brigadier Longrigg offers this work as "a tentative judgement" of French conduct as a mandatory and as "a sounder factual basis . . . for the use of popular writers, journalists, politicians, and the like than is at present available." In pursuit of these aims, the author surveys Syrian and Lebanese developments from 1914 to the French withdrawal in 1946, and closes with a brief summation of the main trends since 1946. Although economic and cultural developments are not neglected, the emphasis is decidedly political. Longrigg writes in a moderate tone, finds much in the French achievement to admire, and occasionally appreciates the French predicament. He remains, however, firmly convinced of the British point of view. He shares the usual Britisher's impatience with the Lebanese and with the Syrian minorities, and treats the pan-Syrian nationalists in sympathetic terms. He also rejects the persistent French charge that most of their difficulties in Syria and Lebanon were created by British efforts to replace them. This reviewer cannot agree with the author's general interpretation of Syrian and Lebanese politics nor with his account of British policy. The position of the British cabinet was rarely as unequivocal as Longrigg says it was, and the activities of local British officials were sometimes not far different from what the French say they were. To choose one example, Longrigg's assertion that the British repeatedly told Faysal that they "would in no circumstances themselves accept a Mandate for Syria" is a very inaccurate description of British activities as revealed in the published British documents. The reader who wishes to examine some of the evidence in the case, which Longrigg, owing to the nature of his book, cannot give, should consult Eli Kedourie, *England and the Middle East*, the only scholarly study that touches on any part of Longrigg's subject. Leaving aside questions of interpretation, Longrigg's comprehensive and detailed account is useful. The remarks about the Syrian National party of Anton Sa'adah are misleading, as are those on Communists and the trade-unions, and the brief account of post-1946 parties confuses the Arab Socialist and the Arab Renaissance parties. Otherwise, so far as my knowledge goes, the book is accurate and reliable. If this reviewer remains unconvinced of Longrigg's main theses, he does believe that the author has achieved his second goal of providing a sounder and fuller factual account than any now available.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

THE LIFE OF THE ADMIRAL CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BY HIS SON FERDINAND. By *Fernando Colón*. Translated and annotated by *Benjamin Keen*.

(New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1959. Pp. xxxii, 316. \$7.50.) The lost original of this work was written by Ferdinand shortly before his death in 1539. He did not publish it, perhaps because of the lawsuits in progress between his family and the crown. Later it passed into Italy where it appeared in an inaccurate translation in 1571. John Churchill included a translation into English, also unsatisfactory, in his *Voyages*. Long recognized as one of the basic sources and unsuccessfully attacked as a forgery, the biography has been used by all serious students. We can be thankful to Ferdinand for writing it while at the same time wishing he had made it ten times longer. He perhaps had knowledge that would have resolved many subsequent controversies. This translation is called "reasonably accurate" by the translator, a gesture of modesty compelled by the sometimes quite unintelligible Italian. More abundant notations would have been useful to the scholar, but those included are ample for the general reader. The biography is fascinating and the English is very smooth. Illustrations add to the interest and maps to the utility.

City College of New York

BAILEY W. DIFFIE

KÖNIG KARL XII. VON SCHWEDEN. Volume I (2d ed.), DER KAMPF SCHWEDENS UM DIE VORMACHT IN NORD- UND OSTEUROPA (1697-1709); Volume II, DIE TÜRKISCHE PERIODE KARLS XII. UND SEIN VERSUCH EINER WIEDERAUFRICHTUNG DER SCHWEDISCHEN GROSSMACHTSTELLUNG (1709-1714); Volume III, DER AUSGANG DER KÖNIGSTRAGÖDIE (1715-1719). By *Otto Haintz*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1958. Pp. xii, 307; xv, 371; 314. DM 75. the set.) The interpretations of the life and career of Charles XII are almost as varied as those of Napoleon, and, indeed, there is much to suggest that Charles XII is to Sweden as Napoleon is to France. The greatest amount of interest in the King and the two Charleses who preceded him has naturally been in Sweden, where Karolinska Förbundet has, since 1910, annually published an *Arsbok* filled with scholarly articles on the "Carolinian" age (1654-1718). Out of the great quantity of scholarship on Charles XII and his age and out of his own investigations in German, Italian, and Scandinavian archives, a non-Scandinavian has now given us a new interpretation and historical synthesis of the great warrior-king. It has taken him a long time, for the first edition of the first volume appeared as long ago as 1936, and the first printing of the second volume (Stockholm) came out in 1951. Although Haintz believes that the work is but the forerunner of a definitive Swedish biography of Charles XII, it is unlikely that this authoritative work will be displaced for a long time to come. The volumes are handsomely printed, and the indexes, maps, and footnotes are excellent; one can only regret the lack of a bibliography. Voltaire considered Charles XII a tragic hero who possessed all the virtues to such an excess that they became as dangerous as vices. He found him guilty of having brought ruin upon his country and judged him a unique rather than a great man. Haintz has not written a panegyric, but he does present the thesis that Charles XII was not only unique but also a great man who was the first to recognize clearly the danger to Europe in the growth of Russian power. Almost any historian will be interested in this biography, and no college or university library should fail to have it available. Haintz has done the historical profession a service in completing a work which is as filled with psychological insights as it is with facts and which succeeds in making both the man and his age vital.

University of California, Riverside

ERNST EKMAN

EINE DEUTSCHE UNTERGRUNDBEWEGUNG GEGEN NAPOLEON, 1806-1807. By *Anton Ernstberger*. [Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte, Band 52.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1955. Pp. 130.) This monograph

is of unusual interest not because of its familiar thesis that German nationalism in the Napoleonic period was a grass-roots movement, but because it demonstrates the difficulty of organizing a popular uprising against a foreign tyranny. In an age haunted by memories of the abortive Hungarian revolt, there is a bitter fascination in this account of Herculean effort and heartbreaking failure. For if ever an underground movement should have succeeded, it was this one, centered in Prussian Silesia in the period between Jena and Tilsit. All the ingredients of success were present: dedicated leaders, a nucleus of armed forces, popular support, and, most important of all, material and financial aid from Austria and Britain. To recapture Magdeburg, to make Bayreuth's "pine-covered hills the foyer of liberation" seemed within the realm of possibility. But every attempt miscarried, and Bayreuth was destined to be not the "foyer of liberation" but of Prussian humiliation. There forty gallant "liberators" were forced to retreat before three thousand Napoleonic troops. Even the optimistic leaders of the underground were forced to concede failure. But why failure? Dr. Ernstberger's carefully documented and detailed account furnishes the answer. As the preface states, "The new faith was the faith of the masses. . . . The yoke of foreign domination had been laid upon all. It could be cast off only by all." To translate this faith into action required planning on so grand a scale that it necessitated basic internal reforms and careful international planning. Minor officials working with a handful of troops, no matter how zealous, could not dislodge, even from a single city, so powerful a master as Napoleon. Combatting tyranny was a monumental task, then as now. The author's contribution to German regional history is surprisingly pertinent to the current scene.

Washburn University

RUTH FRIEDRICH

DER AUSBRUCH DES ERSTEN WELTKRIEGES UND DIE DEUTSCHE SOZIALDEMOKRATIE: CHRONIK UND ANALYSE. By Jürgen Kuczynski. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte, Reihe I: Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte, Band 4.] (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957. Pp. xi, 252. DM 9.80.) Several recent studies have dealt in part with the role of the SPD in the coming of World War I (Drachkovitch, Heidegger, Berlau, Schorske, Matthias, and Meenzen), but Professor Kuczynski's work is unique. It is the most thorough to date and the first Marxist-Leninist evaluation. The author is on the faculty of economic history at the Humboldt University of Berlin and is well known as a student of German social history. His book consists of a chronicle of events, analysis, and documentary annex, but has no bibliography. Fundamental to his conclusion is the premise that the German government wanted general war in July, 1914, and toiled to bring it about. Bethmann's main concern was to keep public support without having to show his hand. Garden variety diplomatic documents cited fail to corroborate these threadbare theses. So completely did the ruling classes succeed in hiding war preparations that Socialists commonly believed in the government's peaceful intent. "Blindness" of the SPD press is illustrated solely by quotations from *Vorwärts*. As late as July 30 the proletariat had still to be won for the war. This could only be done by terrifying it with the Russian scarecrow. Thus, Germany "unleashed war on Russia to deceive the proletariat in the most outrageous fashion." This "lie of a Russian attack" underlies the asseveration that the *Burgfrieden* was betrayal of the workers by the Socialist leaders. David, Scheidemann, Keil, and the SPD Right are flayed for social chauvinism, but Südekum and the Centrist Kautsky are analytically drawn and quartered. Only Liebknecht (who had also voted war credits on August 4), Luxemburg, and a handful of others kept the faith. The rest of the party was "a stinking corpse." Kuczynski is deceived in thinking the SPD's August Reichstag stand was a break with the party's

entire past. That had come two years earlier at the Jena and Chemnitz conventions. Since it is conceded that prospects of a successful general strike were unfavorable, we must wonder what other arrow was left in the German socialist quiver. Was there a feasible alternative to *Burgfrieden*? Ideological apostrophes, with which this treatise is punctuated, cannot conceal the specious reasoning. If one rejects the "lie of a Russian attack," the conclusions are a *non sequitur*. If it be faced that Russia mobilized first, the decision of the SPD becomes a reflex of mass hysteria. Fatherland, *Freiheit*, and living standards were all jeopardized. In view of this, might it not be more fruitful to reopen the case of Russian Social Democratic war guilt? Considering the opposition of the SPD to offensive war, would or could Germany have attacked a Russia paralyzed by general strike or insurrection?

Nebraska Wesleyan University

WILLIAM H. MAEHL

KOMMANDANT IN AUSCHWITZ: AUTOBIOGRAPHISCHE AUFZEICHNUNGEN VON RUDOLF HÖSS. By *Rudolf Höss*. Introduction and commentary by *Martin Broszat*. [Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 5.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1958. Pp. 184. DM 15.80.) In 1947 Rudolf Höss was hanged in Auschwitz for about one million murders—no one knows exactly how many because records were kept for the gold teeth taken from the corpses but not for the number of victims. While in jail, Höss wrote an autobiography and thirty-four supplementary statements. The autobiography and two of the statements are here published in German some years after the appearance of Polish translations. Although occasionally distorting or concealing the facts, Höss astounds by the frankness of his report. He tries to be the obedient and cooperative witness—even in the trial for his own life—as he had once been the obedient and cooperative subordinate of Heinrich Himmler in the management of concentration camps. As the editor points out in an enlightening introduction, Höss unwittingly provides gruesome but revealing information on the nature of the National Socialist state and its servants, especially those who attempted so to mechanize the process of murder that they could convince themselves of their lack of cruelty and bestiality. The inclusion of more of Höss's statements might have been helpful, but certainly the editor has done his sad duty well. In the reviewer's opinion, the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich acted properly in placing this macabre document before a wider audience.

University of Kentucky

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

DIE MITWIRKUNGSRECHTE DER BUNDESGLIEDER IN DER SCHWEIZERISCHEN EIDGENOSSENSCHAFT MIT RECHTSVERGLEICHENDEN HINWEISEN AUF DIE VEREINIGTEN STAATEN VON AMERIKA UND DIE BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND. By *Hans Jörg Meyer*. [Basler Studien zur Rechtswissenschaft, Heft 47.] (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn. 1957. Pp. 105. 11 fr. S.) Dr. Meyer's essay deals mainly with the legal aspects of the participation of the member states or cantons of a federal state in political decision making at the national level. His slim monograph presents in its first part a brief general discussion of the nature of a federal state. A succinct second part surveys the historical development of Swiss federalism from the "representative state" of 1848 to the "executive state" of the present. The third and longest part of the study deals with the particular rights and institutions by means of which the Swiss cantons participate in federal decision making. Throughout much of the book Meyer's approach is comparative. Wherever possible, he contrasts Swiss practices with more or less corresponding institutions in the United States and in the German Federal Republic. Such comparisons begin in the first part, but are carried

through most consistently in the third. Three groups of institutions of federal-state cooperation appear, according to the author, in Switzerland as well as in the United States and in the Bonn Republic: interest group representation through second chambers of the federal legislature, combining the representation by member states or cantons with some stress on higher levels of age, income, and social status; procedures for amending the federal constitution; and procedures for calling a meeting of the federal legislature or a federal constitutional convention. Against this background, the uniquely Swiss events and practices stand out. The author discusses in some detail the cooperation of the cantons in the various revisions of the Swiss federal constitution between 1872 and 1949, particularly in developing the Swiss employment of the referendum and/or the popular initiative at the federal level in regard to both ordinary and emergency legislation, international treaties, and constitutional revision. In addition, he treats of the rights of initiative enjoyed by the Swiss cantons and of their right to be heard in regard to proposed federal legislation—a right that the author would like to see developed and extended. The references to historical events, political processes, or social structure are sketchy. The comparisons with American and West German institutions are not profound, but are helpful for quick orientation. The main value of the study to American readers will consist in its clear and effective summarization of a broad range of Swiss practices that give Swiss federalism much of its distinctive character. Switzerland, it appears, has gone unusually far in protecting the federalistic decentralization of power in favor of the cantons, and yet also in safeguarding efficiency and applying direct democracy at the federal level. Meyer combines this stress on Swiss political innovations with brief but thought-provoking comparisons. As a brief, careful, thoughtful, and well-written survey, his work should find its place in the libraries of all serious students of federalism in history or politics.

Yale University

KARL W. DEUTSCH

THE LAST MEDICI. By *Harold Acton*. (Rev. ed.; New York: St Martin's Press. c. 1958. Pp. 327. \$6.50.) In 1932 Mr. Harold Acton published his study of the last representatives of the Medici. This has long been out of print and the author has now brought out a new edition. In his preface he states that he has pruned some of the purple passages and deleted others from his earlier work, but he makes clear that the present version represents neither a substantial addition of new materials nor a change in the author's perspective on the characters he portrays. The decision to limit revision was surely a justifiable one, for the original work possessed both historical and artistic integrity. Acton's knowledge of his subject is based on extensive reading in the Florentine archives and other contemporary sources, and his presentation is guided by a sense of the drama inherent in the scene and in the characters. In a series of lively vignettes we follow the fortunes of the last members of the grand ducal house, Cosimo III and his children, the Grand Prince Ferdinando, Gian Gastone, and the Electress Anna Maria. Their daily lives, their associates, their policies—or attempts at policy—their marriages, their diversions, and finally their deaths and funerals compose a fascinating chronicle of decadence.

Harvard University

MYRON P. GILMORE

MÉMOIRES D'UN JACOBIN (1799). By *Felice Bongioanni*. Introduction by *Giorgio Vaccarino*. [Biblioteca di Storia Italiana Recente, New Series, Volume II.] (Turin: Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria. 1958. Pp. lxxvii, 250. L. 2,600.) The Italian Jacobins left few memoirs. Giorgio Vaccarino had the good fortune to find the particularly interesting ones of Felice Bongioanni in a private collection. He has published them with an excellent critical study and this enriches our knowledge on an obscure point of

risorgimento history. Felice Bongioanni, originally of Mondovì, manifested republican sentiments from the beginning of the Revolution when in December, 1798, French troops forced the king of Piedmont-Sardinia to leave Turin. Bongioanni took part in the provisional government but he resigned when it ascertained that the Directory wished to annex Piedmont to France. Bongioanni in reality favored the independence of his country and probably the unification of Italy. He undoubtedly played a part in the secret society of the still mysterious *raggi* about which Vaccarino gave us some valuable information in the work *I patrioti "anarchistes" e l'idea dell'unità italiana*, published in 1955. Toward the end of 1799, the Austrians and Russians approached Turin. Bongioanni left the capital. Then there began for him the adventurous life which comprises the main part of his *Mémoires*. His little country, Mondovì, revolted against the French. It was taken by storm. The "patriots" were massacred just as were the adversaries of the Revolution. The Russians scoured the countryside, persecuting the people and stealing their watches. Bongioanni left Piedmont, crossing over the Traversette Pass at nine thousand feet. He found other Italian patriot-émigrés in Dauphiny, and, significantly, went to meet the old terrorist of the Convention, Amar, at Barraux near Chambéry. These *Mémoires* give us considerable information of first importance. They are above all significant contributions to the knowledge of the mind of the man at the end of the eighteenth century whose love of "nature" was limited to well-cultivated plains and produced only aversion for the "horrible mountains." They enable us to know the situation of Piedmont and Dauphiny in 1799. They describe for us the state of mind of the Italian "Jacobins" who admired the Revolution but were adversaries of Directory France, the egoistic politics of which disgusted them as they dreamed of a great independent and unified Italy. In his important introduction Vaccarino describes the remainder of Bongioanni's life. During the Consulate and Empire he accepted a judgeship, though he remained faithful to the ideas of his youth, expressed in a great poem *Giandujeide*, which caused him to be persecuted during the Restoration. Charles-Albert reinstalled him in office in 1831. He died in Savone on November 22, 1838.

Université de Toulouse

JACQUES GODECHOT

SULLE ORME DEL LAMENNAIS IN ITALIA. Volume I, IL LAMENNESISMO A TORINO. By *Angiolo Gambaro*. (Turin: Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria. 1958. Pp. xvi, 338. L. 3,500.) With the advent of Christian democracy to power in post-war Italy, there has been increased historical interest in the Italian Catholic movement. Its successive phases and diverse aspects—political, social, economic, intellectual, religious—are being studied, reevaluated, and variously interpreted by contemporary Italian historians. Now, Angiolo Gambaro proposes to explore the relations between Lamennais and his Italian contemporaries in a three-part work, *Sulle orme del Lamennais in Italia*. The first, *Il lammenesismo a Torino*, discusses the influence of Lamennais' early ideas on conservative Catholics in Piedmont. The second and third volumes will deal with the impact of and reaction to Lamennais' evolution from conservative to liberal to democrat. During the 1820's, when his popularity among Italian conservatives was at its height, Lamennais kept in contact with them by correspondence and on two visits in 1824 and 1828. His staunchest supporters included the *Amicizia d'Italia*, a group of Catholic laymen devoted to upholding the status quo. Among them was Cesare Taparelli D'Azeglio, father of the more famous Massimo D'Azeglio and a true gentleman of the *ancien régime*, the De Maistre family, and Count Senfft, Austrian ambassador to Turin. But Lamennais' fame spread beyond reactionary circles. In 1824 he had an audience with Prince Charles Albert, on whom he made a deep impression. In 1828 the young Rosmini and Gioberti eagerly sought him out. Lamennais' position among conservatives was

badly shaken in 1829 with the appearance of his *De progrès de la révolution et de la guerre contre l'église* and definitely overthrown by *L'Avenir* in 1831. Gambaro reveals a thorough knowledge of the literature on Lamennais and Italian Catholic circles in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, he substantiates his work with original sources, many of which are reproduced in the appendixes that form a useful documentary adjunct to the text. The appearance of the final two volumes of this study should give us interesting insights into Italian intellectual activities during the nineteenth century.
Weston, Massachusetts EMILIANA P. NOETHER

POLSKIE TOWARZYSTWO HISTORYCZNE 1886-1956: KSIĘGA PAMIĄTKOWA Z OKAZJI ZJAZDU JUBILEUSZOWEGO PTH W WARSZAWIE 19-21. X. 1956 [The Polish Historical Society 1886-1956: A Commemorative Volume on the Occasion of the Jubilee Meeting of the Polish Historical Society in Warsaw, October 19-21, 1956]. (Warsaw: State Publishing House. 1958. Pp. 281. Zł. 70.) The present volume contains the summarized proceedings of the seventieth anniversary meeting of the Polish Historical Society. The first chapter comprises a short history of the Society that was presented at the meeting by Professors T. Manteuffel and M. Serejski. Founded in Lwów in 1886, the Society became a national Polish organization with branches in all larger Polish cities when the Polish state was established in 1918. The Society has gained distinction through the publication of numerous valuable monographs and the *Kwartalnik Historyczny* [Historical Quarterly]. It maintained close relations with other European societies and sent delegates to international historical congresses. The Society served as a forum and coordination agency for all aspects of Polish historical research. In 1953, with the establishment of the Historical Institute of the new Polish Academy of Sciences, this hitherto autonomous body became affiliated with the Institute. In 1956 the Society was organized into thirty-three regional groups with a total of more than two thousand members. To each group research in a specific field has been assigned. The jubilee meeting was held in quasi-revolutionary 1956. The acute dissatisfaction of historians with existing conditions is obvious from the proceedings. This dissatisfaction stemmed from concern over the future scholarly level of Polish historiography. Historical research, it was claimed, was less restricted before the war. Contemporary historiography particularly was criticized as propaganda, a cheap apologia, and falsification. Volume III of the *Decisions and Resolutions of the Polish Communist Party* is cited as an example of this falsification. It was claimed that many falsehoods have been published, especially by the history department of the Polish Communist party. The concern for Polish historiography undoubtedly has oriented the minds of Polish historians toward greater freedom in research and toward reforms in the training of future historians. As a whole, this volume represents an evaluation of Polish historical research in the post-World War II period.

Library of Congress

JANINA WOJCICKA

FAR EAST

THE RISE OF THE MERCHANT CLASS IN TOKUGAWA JAPAN, 1600-1868: AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY. By *Charles David Sheldon*. [Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, Number 5.] (Locust Valley, N. Y.: J. J. Augustin Incorporated Publisher for the Association. 1958. Pp. xi, 205. \$5.00.) The growth of a commercial economy and the accompanying rise of a merchant class during the Tokugawa period in Japan are generally acknowledged causes for the collapse of feudalism. This

monograph, the fifth sponsored by the Association for Asian Studies, is an analysis of how the socially disesteemed merchants rose to a position of wealth and economic power while the politically supreme feudal aristocracy became progressively more impoverished. Soundly based upon major Japanese studies, the book offers no new interpretations, but gives a readable, competent treatment to various aspects of this important subject. Mr. Sheldon concludes that the rise of the merchants was possible because of the "dead hand of bureaucratic lethargy" and the avoidance by the samurai class of commercial activities as both degrading and overly complex. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century the merchants had made remarkable strides: they controlled commerce through officially sanctioned monopoly guilds and trade associations (well analyzed in the third chapter) and their vigor was reflected in the culture of the times. Yet economic monopoly power, the author makes clear, never gave independent political power to the city merchants. Lack of political authority, the exclusion policy that prevented foreign trade, and the existence of provincial economies (illustrated in the fascinating account of the enterprise of the country merchant Zeniya Gohei) impeded their influence and independence. Chapter VI includes an excellent survey of the three major reforms undertaken by the feudal regime to restrict the gains of the merchants and revive the land-based feudal economy. The last of these efforts (1841-1843) to limit "city influences" was the least successful and led almost inevitably to the collapse of the old order. The importance of this work is that it affords the most detailed analysis available of a phenomenon that contributed both to the destruction of feudalism and to the shaping of the new economy following the political shifts of 1868.

Northwestern University

ROGER F. HACKETT

THE MAKING OF THE MEIJI CONSTITUTION: THE OLIGARCHS AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN, 1868-1891. By *George M. Beckmann*. Foreword by *Harold S. Quigley*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1957. Pp. 158. \$3.00.) This work is a carefully and compactly written account of the main political events that lay behind the promulgation of Japan's first modern constitution. Based largely on the works of the great Japanese constitutional historians of the last generation, Osatake Takeki and Suzuki Yasuzō, it presents less of a departure or amplification of the traditional narrative than a restatement in precise terms of the story of the men, ideas, and issues behind the framing of the constitution. Beckmann begins with an interpretation of the Meiji "revolution" as being the work of a "modernization party" among the lower class *han* bureaucrats. He follows these leaders through the events of 1868, into the period of the "abolition of feudalism," their consolidation into an "oligarchy," and their final struggle over the document that was promulgated in 1889. He brings to this story a conciseness and clarity of presentation that is at once admirable and frustrating in its brevity. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Beckmann's monograph is the information he provides on the role of German legal consultants such as Mosse and Roessler in the drafting of the constitution. A valuable addition to the main text is the series of appendixes which contain translations of early draft constitutions by Kido Kōin and Genrōin, and the written opinions on constitutional government by Ōkubo, Yamagata, Itō, Ōkuma, and Iwakura. These documents afford an intimate glimpse into the thoughts of the Meiji leaders as they approached the constitutional issue. In his concluding chapter Beckmann analyzes the effect of the constitution on Japanese politics. His view that it represented "a compromise embodying a feudal-based authoritarian political philosophy and the democratic movement's demand for representative government," while undoubtedly true enough, is a conclusion that appears more from an internal analysis of the constitution as a document than from the story

of how the oligarchs had written it. It is at this point that one wishes for a fuller documentation and a deeper penetration into the actual thoughts and motivations of the leaders, glimpses of which are provided in the translated documents.

University of Michigan

JOHN W. HALL

SIAM UNDER RAMA III, 1824-1851. By *Walter F. Vella*. [Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, Number 4.] (Locust Valley, N. Y.: J. J. Augustin Incorporated Publisher for the Association. 1957. Pp. ix, 180. \$5.00.) This book is a well-documented, detailed, and readable history of the reign of Rama III, 1824-1851, a transitional period from "Old Siam" to "New Siam." The author is a young specialist in this field, trained at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of *The Impact of the West on Government in Thailand* (1955). He has no other purpose than a general analysis that is limited to a short period of time and that treats topically many facets of Thai history. Using Siamese and English sources, Dr. Vella describes the semidivine power of the king; court politics, intrigues, and administrative procedures; the self-sufficient economy; indifferent or hostile attitudes toward neighboring states; the limited contact with the Western world; and developments in religion, art, and literature. Siam was engaged in a kind of imperialism in this area, for she made Laos, Malaya, and Cambodia her vassal states and demanded tributes from them as China did from her. Unlike her neighbors, Siam responded to the Western impact promptly and intelligently in order to preserve her freedom. Under Rama III the traditional ways of life were firmly kept, while at the same time transformation had already begun. The old and new have always been blending in Siam. Thus this book is not limited in its usefulness to the first half of the nineteenth century, but is applicable to Thai history in general. "Important Events in the History of Siam" are given in the appendix. No book is perfect. The exposition of the relationship between Siam and China is very brief and weak. The bibliography of Siamese material might be given better in essay form with more evaluation of the sources in order to help those who do not know the language. The maps are poorly sketched, and the second map, listed as facing page seventy-eight, is not there at all. On the whole, however, this is a fine piece of work.

Indiana University

S. Y. TENG

MY BURMA: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A PRESIDENT. By *U Ba U*. With a foreword by *J. S. Furnivall*. (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company. 1959. Pp. xi, 206. \$4.50.) President U Ba U's memoirs reflect in authentic fashion the conservative, parochial, apolitical viewpoint characteristic of the top group of Burmans serving the British colonial regime. The author's ancestors held executive office under the Burmese kings. His grandfather became a township officer and his father a deputy commissioner under British rule. Thus Ba U was afforded opportunity for a Cambridge University education in law. He rose to the highest level of Burma's legal profession. His elevation to the presidency was a tribute to his recognized competence and integrity. His life narrative is interesting but not entirely satisfying. His English idiom is typically Burmese, as are his personal sensitivity to real or imagined slights and his susceptibility to premonitions and magical omens. His prewar professional career reflected the atmosphere of personal jealousies and recriminations prevailing within the civil service. He was little concerned with larger issues of political and social reform. Only his account of the Japanese conquest comes to life. He accords generous recognition to British colleagues, but his labored efforts to affirm his own nationalist spirit while enjoying all the advantages of British service are unconvincing. Also disappointing is his failure to appraise important Burmese political personalities of his acquaintance. Habits of political

caution established in British times still persist. U Ba U's book is useful, but he could have written a better one.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

UNITED STATES

HISTOIRE DE LA RACE NOIRE AUX ÉTATS-UNIS DU XVII^e SIÈCLE À NOS JOURS. By *Franck L. Schoell*. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1959. Pp. 248. 1,200 fr.) Few contemporary Frenchmen—or other foreigners—have written about the Negro in the United States. André Siegfried, in his *Les États-Unis d'aujourd'hui* (1927), stated that the Negro problem “is an abyss which one could view only with alarm.” Daniel Guérin’s *Où va le peuple américain?* (II, 1951), took an equally dim view and concluded that a new terrible civil war could hardly be averted except through the union of black and white workers against the “capitalistic Colossus.” Simone de Beauvoir, in her *America Day by Day* (1953), was distressed by the apathy of white students in some famous northern institutions of higher learning and by the mutual hatred of Negroes and whites in the South. Schoell is the author of *La question des noirs aux États-Unis* (1923) and *U.S.A., du côté des blancs et du côté des Noirs* (1927). In this *Histoire* he relied heavily also upon the writings of Negro Americans and of Eli Ginzberg, Melville J. Herskovits, Gunnar Myrdal, and Robert Penn Warren. The author devotes some fifty pages to “L’Esclavage (1619–1862),” one hundred to “Émancipation mais ségrégation (1863–1954),” and seventy to “Depuis 1954.” Informed American readers will find a familiar story in all three parts. The book has, however, two values. First, it is one of the most balanced foreign-language analyses of the Negro in the United States. Second, it reveals the changes in the author’s thinking on the subject. He had little reason to be optimistic in 1923 or 1927. But after a careful analysis of the forces working toward and against equality of treatment of the Negro, he concludes on a note of “sober optimism.” In view of the bitter diatribes of some foreign writers and of the struggle by Negroes in other parts of the world for equality, this is a most timely book.

Howard University

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

RHODE ISLAND POLITICS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1760–1776. By *David S. Lovejoy*. (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1958. Pp. 256. \$4.50.) During the past few years there has been a growing body of literature expounding the thesis that the American Revolution involved little, if any, class conflict, and that the issue was mainly “home rule,” not “who should rule at home.” Professor Lovejoy has added an important work to this literature. He shows that a large percentage of the adult men could vote and that representation, if not completely equitable, was not a factor in the Revolution. He points also to the fact that Rhode Island did not change its government for many years after the Revolution as another indication of absence of internal class conflict. In addition, Lovejoy effectively uses the approach of Sir Lewis Namier in an effort to explain Rhode Island politics before the Revolution in terms of factionalism. Instead of upper classes against lower classes or conservatives against radicals, the struggles in Rhode Island were struggles between equals, “between people who already enjoyed the right to vote and who fought to control the government for their own ends.” Loose political factions, held together by local rather than imperial issues and centered around Samuel Ward of Westerly and Newport and Stephen Hopkins of Providence, dominated the scene. British imperial policies after 1763 encroached upon Rhode Island’s factionalism, threatening a system that was

profitable to those in control. When Rhode Islanders joined the Revolution, they did so "on the broad grounds of constitutional right to keep Rhode Island safe for liberty and property—and the benefit of party politics." All this is fine as far as it goes, but it leaves the reader with some questions. For one thing, the author deals almost exclusively at the level of the leading politicians themselves, and it is easy to see at this level why politicians want to win elections for personal and factional benefits. But what about the people who elected these politicians to office? Was their opposition to British measures based mainly on "local issues and personal and community advantages from government"? Lovejoy's evidence would seem to indicate that principles as well as local and personal interests were at stake—that trial by jury, taxation by representation, and freedom from imperialism were more fundamental than the mere expectation of personal gain from factional control of politics.

Michigan State University

ROBERT E. BROWN

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN GEORGIA, 1763-1789. By *Kenneth Coleman*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 352. \$5.50.) "By 1763 Georgia had outgrown her idealistically impractical infancy and was enjoying a hardy adolescence." Throughout the period covered, the frontier played a major role "with its warlike Indians, good lands, and . . . optimism." Growth continued even during the war years. Alone, Georgia, a frontier colony almost in the shadow of British East Florida, probably would not have revolted. In the showdown, however, she went along with the other colonies to the northward. Like them, she suffered British occupation and was the scene of military disasters for the American cause. The Revolution brought great changes, as in the other states, not only in the political sphere (which has received attention from previous writers) but also in economic and social areas. These the author discusses more fully than anyone else has done. At the end of the War Georgia was not beset by strong east-west sectional conflicts to nearly such a degree as were many of the other states. Her people worked together to launch a system of public schools, to found a state university, and to take other progressive steps. Georgia was the fourth state to ratify the United States Constitution, the last day of 1787, and one of three to take this action unanimously. This is the first thorough, detailed, well-balanced history of Georgia during the revolutionary period. It is based upon careful research in available archives, manuscripts, and printed materials; it is readable, sound, and well proportioned; and it handles the subject in broad perspective. The writer set out to perform a major task, and he has done it very well indeed, making a valuable contribution to historical writing on the Revolution.

North Carolina Department of Archives and History

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

THE SPIRIT OF 'SEVENTY-SIX: THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AS TOLD BY PARTICIPANTS. Volume I and II. Edited by *Henry Steele Commager* and *Richard B. Morris*. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1958. Pp. xxxi, 662; xviii, 663-1348. \$15.00 the set.) This work is an anthology of contemporary writings concerning the Revolution rather than a collection of documents prepared for the use of the researcher. The bulk of the selections is derived from printed sources, which the researcher will use in preference to the versions offered in these very attractive volumes. As an anthology for the "general reader" and for the student, *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six* is splendid and unique, offering a generous, colorful, and varied collection of writings about the Revolution from the Boston Tea Party to the close of the War of Independence. Included are British and American official papers, private letters, portions of diaries and journals, orations, essays, and verse. There is no anthology of

similar scope and richness for the tumultuous years from 1773 to 1783. A few of the pieces in the two volumes, extracts from journals and memoirs, may have seduced the judgment of the editors, since those pieces interest rather than enlighten. The introduction and explanatory comments are, as might be expected, excellent. The customary and almost inevitable minor slips are in the quantity usually found in the work of veteran and distinguished historians. Thus Joseph Galloway joined the British, not when they occupied Philadelphia, but many months earlier; and there is still no reliable evidence that the British expedition to Concord had as an objective the persons of John Hancock and Samuel Adams. The maps are clear and suitable, and the illustrations are pleasing, plentiful, and sometimes very amusing. The engraving of General Charles Lee bears no resemblance to Lee. This collection does not contain papers concerning the Articles of Confederation or the problem of western lands. The editors promise to offer these in a second collection. May they be able to do so.

Duke University

JOHN R. ALDEN

JEAN LEFEBVRE DE CHEVERUS, 1768-1836. By *Annabelle M. Melville*. (Milwaukee, Wis.: Bruce Publishing Company. 1958. Pp. xiv, 527. \$9.00.) On October 3, 1796, Jean de Cheverus stepped ashore in Boston, an exiled French priest, a refugee in a foreign and none-too-friendly land. On September 26, 1823, he left Boston for the last time, bound for France and great distinction in his native country, yet leaving America with the utmost reluctance, requested by Catholic and Protestant alike, by high and low, to stay. The refugee French priest had risen to become the first Catholic bishop of Boston, and had made such a mark and had so endeared himself that his going was regarded as a loss to the whole community. Up to the present time the influence of Bishop Cheverus and the man himself have remained almost wholly unknown to students of American history. Now, with the aid of hitherto unused correspondence, of diocesan and other Catholic records, and of French archival resources, Dr. Melville has given us a warmly drawn biography that will replace the previous one, today long out of date, and which for the first time puts Bishop Cheverus suitably in the American scene. We have to point out, however, that the general American setting is not so well sketched as is the French background. Cheverus as a French priest, faced with all the difficult decisions forced upon him by the rapidly succeeding crises of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic regime, and the Restoration, is a fascinating human study—and, incidentally, a very modern one. His position in America would have been clearer, a better balance would have been achieved, and his stature would have been greater had the American scene not been taken so much for granted. Yet, whatever its lack in this respect, and in spite of occasional lapses into turgid style, this book is a fine piece of scholarship and a notable contribution to American church history, a field that still needs much more ploughing.

University of Toronto

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

ALBERT GALLATIN: FISCAL THEORIES AND POLICIES. By *Alexander Balinky*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 275. \$7.50.) Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, has been lucky in the historians who have written about him. A "sound money" man who disapproved of debt, public or private, he was also a Jeffersonian friend of the people, an enemy of privilege and aristocracy, and so he has been looked on with favor by liberals and conservatives alike in the twentieth century. Alexander Balinky, an economic historian, is almost the first to question this virtually unanimous opinion. In a study confined "to an examination and evaluation of Gallatin's fiscal theories and

policies," Balinky comes to the conclusion that Gallatin "subordinated fiscal considerations and principles to the political and economic (though non-fiscal) objectives of his party," and as a result "nearly caused the complete financial ruin of the general government." He sustains this conclusion by a detailed analysis of Gallatin's administration of the Treasury Department in which he demonstrates that the financial success of the Republican administration between 1801 and 1808 was not attributable to "the logic or soundness" of its fiscal scheme but happened as a result of "external conditions." When these external conditions changed in 1808, the administration suffered serious financial difficulties "from which Gallatin's fiscal system was unable to rescue it or the nation." The author also contends that the economic and political objectives of Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin did not coincide "with the real needs of the American economy at that point in its development," and expresses serious doubts as to the wisdom of political leaders who think in terms primarily of "a reduction in government spending; a decrease in the size of the public debt; the alleviation of the tax burden; and a balanced budget," rather than in terms of the "economic and political necessities confronting the nation." If more studies like this one continue to be published, those American historians who are New Dealers in the twentieth century may come to realize that there is something to be said for Hamilton and the other Federalists, Republicans, and Whigs who disagreed with Jefferson, Gallatin, Jackson, and Van Buren in the first four decades of the nineteenth century.

New York City

THOMAS P. GOVAN

SCHOOLCRAFT'S EXPEDITION TO LAKE ITASCA: THE DISCOVERY OF THE SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI. Edited by *Philip P. Mason*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1958. Pp. xxvi, 390. \$7.50.) To describe Henry Rowe Schoolcraft as "one of the most remarkable men of the nineteenth century" is to exaggerate considerably, but he was a man of much curiosity and as an explorer and an earnest student of the Indian he was important. In reprinting his account of the discovery of the source of the Mississippi, Philip Mason has done a useful service, for it helps to focus on Schoolcraft the attention he merits and makes readily available a narrative with many facets of interest. This slender account Mason has intelligently extended by including pertinent papers of Schoolcraft and reports and letters of his associates, Lieutenant James Allen, Dr. Douglas Houghton, and the Reverend Mr. William T. Boutwell, so that the full set of documents presented gives us a thorough report not merely on topography and official relations with the Indians but also on matters of scientific concern and on ethnography. Much of this material is published in full for the first time. The editor's introduction carefully places Schoolcraft's narrative in proper historical setting and points out the accomplishments of the expedition. Adequate notes, a bibliography, an index, and map end papers round out the usefulness of this volume.

Washington University

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

THE BLACKFEET: RAIDERS ON THE NORTHWESTERN PLAINS. By *John C. Ewers*. [Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 49.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xviii, 348. \$5.75.) The most powerful Indians on the Northern Plains, the three tribes known collectively as the Blackfeet, terrorized their Indian neighbors, pushed their way deep into lands south of the forty-ninth parallel, and successfully resisted Anglo-American intrusion until late in the nineteenth century. This volume, forty-ninth in the University of Oklahoma's Civilization of the American Indian Series and one of the best, analyzes Blackfoot society before the arrival of white traders, missionaries, and soldiers; demonstrates the reasons for Blackfoot strength; and relates the disintegration and virtual collapse of Blackfoot culture under the impact of

the frontier version of Western civilization. As an anthropological analysis of Blackfoot social organization, material culture, artistic activity, religious beliefs, and family life, this is a readable and valuable study. Trained by Clark Wissler and possessed of extensive firsthand knowledge of the Blackfeet gained as curator of the Museum of Plains Indians in Montana, Mr. Ewers adds greatly to our understanding of the Piegan, Blood, and Blackfoot tribes during prehistoric times. Chapters become sketchy and less useful, however, after the advent of Lewis and Clark. While the author recognizes that the international boundary was only a line on a map for many years, and hardly that to nomadic Indians, he has made little use of the rich records on Indian affairs in the Public Archives of Canada. Perhaps the later chapters would have come off better had he also carefully consulted several important recent articles and books on the Canadian-American West, including those cited in the bibliography.

Hiram College

PAUL F. SHARP

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XXIII, THE TERRITORY OF FLORIDA, 1824-1828. Compiled and edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. [National Archives Publication Number 59-2.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1958. Pp. v, 1191. \$6.50.) This, the second volume of the *Territorial Papers* of Florida, maintains the same high standard of selection, documentation, cross reference, and indexing as the earlier volume. The topics that receive most space are Indians, land disposal, and internal improvements. There is also a record of an amazing amount of personal and factional quarreling. And the correspondence reveals what must have been extremely baffling problems of administering an undeveloped province at such distance with not much more than primitive means of communication. The Seminole Indians posed the problems of greatest concern to the officials and inhabitants of the territory. In 1823 at Moultrie Creek they agreed to move to a reservation in the central part of the peninsula, but they went reluctantly and neither they nor their white neighbors were satisfied with the settlement. Before the move was completed the whites were demanding their removal west of the Mississippi. Land disposal was fraught with difficulty. Private claims had to be established before public lands could be surveyed and sold. Hundreds of claims had to be investigated after the Spanish records were recorded and translated. Meanwhile, settlers were moving in and demanding preemption rights, which the Congress granted in 1826. But these titles also were long in doubt. Two hundred miles of almost trackless wilderness separated the newly located territorial capital at Tallahassee from St. Augustine, the nearest town to the east, and from Pensacola to the west. The journey by water around the lower peninsula was hazardous and time consuming. The demand for cross-territory transportation for passengers, freight, and mail, and to open up the interior to settlers grew steadily. Congress soon authorized a "highway" connecting the three principal centers of population, and it was laid out and made usable, at least in good weather. In 1826 the first survey for a canal across the peninsula, still a much-debated project, was authorized. A comprehensive system of roads was projected down the east coast to Cape Florida, and on the west coast to Cape Sable. The experience in laying out these roads revealed the degree of ignorance of the lower peninsula. Surveyors stopped the southward march on the east coast of St. Lucie Inlet, and on the west coast at Charlotte Harbor, and wrote off the lower peninsula as completely useless. Nor has the road ever come anywhere near Cape Sable, now included in the Everglades National Park. Students of Florida history look forward with great interest to the continuation of this series of the *Territorial Papers*, which fills in so much of the story of the early American period.

University of Miami

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

NEGRO SLAVERY IN ARKANSAS. By *Orville W. Taylor*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1958. Pp. viii, 282. \$6.00.) The institution of slavery in Arkansas was rapidly approaching the status of slavery in Mississippi when the Civil War came. Although only 17.5 per cent of the people of the state at that time belonged to slaveholding families, there was a tremendous rate of expansion of the peculiar institution in the last decade of the ante bellum period. The increase of 135 per cent was surpassed only by Texas with a ratio of 213 per cent. Professor Taylor's study makes it clear that slavery in Arkansas represented an intermediate stage of development between the Virginia type and the Mississippi type. Indeed, one of the virtues of this well-balanced, objective study is the frequent comparison of the institution in Arkansas with conditions in other states. The laws in Arkansas, for example, were not as harsh as in the states of the lower South until the very end of the period. There was no law prohibiting the teaching of slaves to read and write. The author advances an interesting theory explaining the much smaller percentage of mulattoes in the states of the lower South than in the upper South, namely, that the blacker slaves sold more easily than the light-colored ones and therefore the slave importing states bought the blacker slaves. Taylor also argues strongly for the recent view that slavery in the South was a profitable institution. His study is soundly based on the sources and covers the salient features of slavery in Arkansas, including historical development, sale and prices, hiring, life in the quarters, health, the slave code, work and discipline, and emancipation.

University of Kentucky

CLEMENT EATON

TIDE WITHOUT TURNING: ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. By *John Gill*. (Boston: Starr King Press. [1958.] Pp. ix, 256. \$4.50.) Maine-born Elijah Lovejoy, who went west, became an able Presbyterian minister, then turned into an antislavery editor, was shot down by a drunken mob in Alton, Illinois, in 1837 while defending his printing press from seizure. The event intensified the growing excitement over slavery and made Lovejoy a martyr. In spite of the considerable literature relating to the story that subsequently appeared, Mr. Gill's account is the first full-length biographical work on Lovejoy to be published. The Kentucky-born author lived as minister for a time in Alton, where his curiosity led to research that resulted in a doctoral dissertation and this book. He has discovered valuable new manuscript material and used other sources that were little known. The product is a vivid story in which Lovejoy's life and character are sharply etched. The various views about Lovejoy are examined and their origins explained. Other persons in the drama, such as Doctors Beal and Hope, Judge Lawless, and Attorney-General Linder, are clearly characterized. The manner of presentation is somewhat confusing. It is not entirely straightforward reporting, but contains descriptions of the environment done in a poetic style presumably to heighten the dramatic quality of his story. The author sometimes loses the reader by failing to maintain clear sequences. But his artistry merits respect and the reading is interesting. The book is amply documented. Gill shows sympathy for his subject, but he is fair to those who berated Lovejoy. Never dogmatic in his interpretations, he provides material for argument. If Lovejoy was a martyr, to what cause? Abolitionism, freedom of the press, or something else? Was the current saying that Lovejoy had only himself to blame justified? It appears that the responsible authorities in the free city of Alton were primarily concerned with the belief that abolitionists were bad for business. Was freedom of the press involved as much as the freedom to speak, or rather to propagate unpopular ideas? Lovejoy assumed that the legal right to print what he pleased was sufficient justification for doing so.

University of Chattanooga

CULVER H. SMITH

J. D. B. DE BOW: MAGAZINIST OF THE OLD SOUTH. By *Ottis Clark Skipper*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1958. Pp. x, 269. \$5.00.) Almost forgotten today, James Dunwoody Brownson De Bow was an important figure in mid-nineteenth-century United States. Born in Charleston, South Carolina, of a New Jersey father, he played a significant role in the life of the Old South and the coming of the Civil War. He pioneered in the teaching of political economy and won international recognition as a statistician and as director of the census of 1850. Through his *Commercial Review of the South and West* (better known as *De Bow's Review*) he advocated agricultural reform, the development of commerce, internal improvements and manufactures, and the establishment of public schools and other cultural institutions. His writings influenced economic, social, and political thought in the South. He himself began as a nationalist but soon became an ardent champion of sectional interests—slavery, secession, and political independence of the South. During the Civil War De Bow organized and supervised, with some success, the Confederate Produce Loan Agency. When defeat came De Bow unrealistically expected the North to ignore secession and war and to welcome back the seceded states. Likewise he expected the North to leave control of the freedmen to the southern whites. Attempting to rebuild his economic fortune, De Bow revived the *Review* and plunged into railroad enterprises, neither of which was successful. The story of such a man's career needs to be told. Professor Skipper has attempted to combine a biographical study of De Bow and a history of *De Bow's Review*. The result is a disappointing one. Neither stands out clearly: the one is lost in a mass of detail about the magazine, and the other is broken by excursions far afield. The reader fails to get a clear, vivid picture of the man De Bow. The work is poorly organized and the material ill digested. The reader will wish for much more explanation, generalization, and interpretation of the factual data given. The author has failed to utilize manuscript materials known to exist in several depositories and has not made adequate use of recent monographic materials. He has made a good beginning, but the definitive biography of De Bow and history of his *Review* is yet to be written.

University of North Carolina

FLETCHER M. GREEN

GRAY GHOSTS OF THE CONFEDERACY: GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THE WEST, 1861-1865. By *Richard S. Brownlee*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 274. \$4.95.) The reviewer is uncertain whether the Confederacy's Gray Ghosts west of the Mississippi are presented in dramatically historical or historically dramatic attire. Whatever the verdict, Mr. Brownlee's parade of Missouri guerrillas in partisan warfare exhibits dignified historical scholarship. With past-minded intent he seems to ride with Quantrill, Bob Anderson, or Joe Porter on their forays, only to dismount immediately for a critical appraisal of their escapades. He finds no inevitability in their activities. They were, he says, "men of free will," and he assigns "personal responsibility" to each one. Their exploits were not confined to Missouri and Kansas, and Brownlee follows the "irregular" Confederates into Arkansas and Texas, where they soon became as unwelcome as they were on the border they temporarily abandoned. Kansas jayhawkers also cross the stage, whether in retaliatory raids or in inciting Missourians to retaliation. Spaced at appropriate intervals in the narrative are accounts of Union and Confederate policy and the effect of martial law. For the uninitiated reader, a fuller view of the border war from 1854 to secession would have been appropriate; the few pages devoted to that prelude suggest the "inevitable" nature of partisanship in the years from 1861 to 1865.

University of Oregon

WENDELL H. STEPHENSON

HOWELL COBB'S CONFEDERATE CAREER. By *Horace Montgomery*. [Confederate Centennial Studies, Number 10.] (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Confederate Publishing Company. 1959. Pp. 144. \$4.00.) Written close to the sources, this little monograph deals in part with Howell Cobb as a leader in Georgia politics and as president of the Confederate Provisional Congress, but it is principally concerned with what befell him after he organized and became colonel of the Sixteenth Georgia Regiment. Rising eventually to major general, Cobb saw relatively unimportant combat service in the Peninsular Campaign and the Maryland invasion of 1862, and then became, successively, commander of middle Florida, of the Georgia Guard, and of the Georgia Reserve Force. Here is useful light on "a far from ordinary man," and on administrative conflict within the wartime Confederacy.

University of Colorado

HAL BRIDGES

RED RIVER CAMPAIGN: POLITICS AND COTTON IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *Ludwell H. Johnson*. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1958. Pp. 317. \$5.00.) The Red River campaign of March 12-May 20, 1864, has for long been one of the more mysterious episodes of the Civil War. In the first book-length study of it, the outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins University, Professor Johnson has largely dispelled the mystery hovering about the story of the Banks-Porter expedition into northwestern Louisiana. In particular, this book gives perhaps the first adequate explanation of the complex origins of the campaign and of the extent to which cotton-doggling affected its operation. Johnson's informative treatment of this latter subject highlights the need for a comprehensive investigation of how cotton figured in the military operations of the war as a whole. This book portrays the Federal army commander Major General Nathaniel P. Banks as both honest and courageous, but completely unfitted for the responsibilities of command because of his lack of military training. A system that all too often subordinated qualified professional soldiers to militarily naïve "political generals" was, as the author makes clear, rooted in the political necessities of the Lincoln administration. Johnson is quite as critical of the naval commander Admiral Porter, "whose taste for prize money seldom allowed him to overlook a bale of cotton" and who owed his escape from the trap into which he had permitted his Mississippi squadron to be led mainly to efforts not his own. Although in terms of losses other than materiel the Red River campaign hardly compared with the major campaigns of the war, it is the author's opinion that failure here prolonged the war by at least two months. Even so, as he further points out, the capture of Banks's entire army could hardly have changed the war's outcome. As for the South, the depredations inflicted by the retreating Federals and the bitter quarrel that ensued between the two principal Confederate commanders counterbalanced whatever advantage was derived from the collapse of Banks's great expectations.

Chatham College

J. CUTLER ANDREWS

THIRD PARTIES IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By *Howard P. Nash, Jr.* Introduction by *William B. Hesseltine*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. c. 1959. Pp. ix, 326. \$6.00.) This is a curiously disproportioned book. In journalistic style it sketches the history of third parties that have nominated candidates for the presidency. Six of its eleven chapters are confined to the Republican party—its rise, its Civil War trials, and the later revolts of Liberals, Mugwumps, and Progressives. The reader therefore receives the startling impression that the GOP has been the most ubiquitous third party in American history. The bibliography ignores most of the standard works in its field. The only recent items cited are three volumes issued by the same publisher. Reproductions

of over a hundred political cartoons give the work some value and interest. But, as Professor Hesselstine points out in what seems to this reviewer an understatement, the "book is by no means definitive."

American University

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

GEORGE PERKINS MARSH: VERSATILE VERMONT. By *David Lowenthal*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 442. \$6.50.) Some fifty years ago Baedeker's *United States* found in Woodstock, Vermont, only the birthplace of Hiram Powers, the sculptor, and "Geo. P. Marsh (1801-1882), the diplomatist and Norse scholar." But in this country Marsh had almost been forgotten and no biography of him had been written, except for a eulogy by his wife, until this one by Mr. Lowenthal filled the gap most adequately and interestingly. Diplomatist he was—minister to Turkey, 1849-1853, to Italy, 1861-1882, the longest tour of duty held by any American head of a mission. In both countries he did well, and his reports on Kossuth, on Garibaldi, and on the struggles of the new Italian state are of real interest. Norse scholar he was, too, with the first Icelandic grammar in English, and a large collection of Scandinavian literature now at the University of Vermont. But he was much more than that. He read the encyclopedia at the age of five, and never stopped learning. A lawyer and manufacturer, a member of Congress for six years, his interests were more scholarly, and his chief service in Washington was in helping create the Smithsonian Institution. Far ahead of his time, he urged the writing of social history; less admirably, he fostered a Puritan, Gothic myth. Generally conservative, he spoke for public regulation and even ownership of railroads as Vermont Railroad Commissioner in the 1850's, and again led the way in applying these ideas to the water supplies of the West. He started the Vermont marble industry, broke the path for conservation as Vermont fish commissioner, designed the statehouse, and was responsible for the form of the Washington monument. He wrote the first treatise on the relation between man and natural resources, *Man and Nature* (1864), and this book is perhaps his greatest accomplishment, as the chapter about it is the most significant in Lowenthal's volume. Indeed, Marsh did so much, and led the way in so many fields, that too much had to be treated very briefly. There is more detail on the Italian years in *Italo-American Diplomatic Relations, 1861-1882: The Mission of George Perkins Marsh* (Washington, D. C., 1958), by Sister Mary Philip Trauth, who does not always agree with Lowenthal. No New Hampshire reviewer can wholly accept a book about a Vermonter, especially one by a New Yorker who at times shows that he is not quite at home, particularly when he has Franklin Pierce born across the Connecticut River. In summary, Marsh comes out an interesting, not wholly likable character, biased, violently anti-Catholic, racist, widely if not deeply learned, not on Bancroft's level of scholar-diplomat, but one of the original minds of the century.

Dartmouth College

HERBERT HILL

THE OIL CENTURY: FROM THE DRAKE WELL TO THE CONSERVATION ERA. By *J. Stanley Clark*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xxii, 280. \$3.95.) The publication of *The Oil Century* is a welcome addition to the growing list of scholarly books written on the petroleum industry. A reader interested in a general account of the industry's history during its first hundred years will find this volume very rewarding. The first half of the book is largely devoted to the historical development of the petroleum industry—the existence and use of oil prior to 1859, the main events leading to the drilling of the Drake Well, the exciting events along Oil Creek and the surrounding territory, transportation methods, speculation in oil, the rule of

capture and its effect, the growth of monopoly, the tremendous expansion of the industry after 1900 due to the invention of the internal combustion engine, the advent of the automobile, the use of oil for a variety of purposes in peace and war, and the opening of new oil fields in the West and particularly the Southwest. Numerous quotations from contemporary sources enrich the narrative. The last half of the book relates to the enormous waste in drilling for oil and gas, the emergence of state and federal conservation laws and regulations, new technological advances in finding, producing, and transporting oil, and the problem of oil imports versus domestic production. The book is attractively printed. It is well documented, has a bibliography and index, and contains many photographs.

Hamline University

PAUL H. GIDDENS

LUCRETIA MOTT. By *Otelia Cromwell*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 241. \$5.75.) Lucretia Coffin Mott was born on the island of Nantucket into a seafaring family long associated with the Society of Friends. Both of these circumstances exerted a lifelong influence upon her. Her mother, the wife of a whaler absent from home for long intervals, managed the home and family affairs and kept a small store as well. Lucretia attributed her interest in and views on women's rights to her Nantucket heritage. "I grew up so thoroughly imbued with women's rights," she stated, "that it was the most important question of my life from a very early day." The traditional humanitarianism of the Friends together with her marriage at the age of eighteen to a fellow Quaker furnished much of the inspiration for a lifetime of devotion to the crusade for social justice. If antislavery and women's rights had first claim on the services of this redoubtable woman, temperance, the peace movement, and a host of personal philanthropic enterprises had their place as well. Behind these and closely related to the reforming spirit was her long connection with the Friends as devoted member of the various Quaker meetings with which she affiliated, zealous disciple of the Books of Discipline, and highly respected and eloquent minister. In the controversy that split the Friends in and around Philadelphia during the 1820's into two groups, the Orthodox and the Hicksites, James and Lucretia Mott were among the disciples of Elias Hicks, the leader of the liberal wing. This was an affiliation that helped to establish for Lucretia a sympathetic rapport with the Unitarians among her fellow reformers. The record of Lucretia Mott's long life—she died at the age of eighty-seven, active almost until the end—is a veritable history of the social ferment of the mid-nineteenth century. Otelia Cromwell has made extensive use of the source materials associated with every aspect of her subject's life, including correspondence, diaries, records of the Society of Friends, and proceedings of reform societies. She has achieved a vital portrayal of an able and lovable woman and a perceptive account of the individuals with whom she was associated and the movements she served so indefatigably. Nor does the author overlook the delightful home life of the Motts. Not the least of Lucretia's contributions to the woman's cause was the distinction with which she combined home-making and public affairs. Especially to be commended is the skillful use of quotations—mainly from Lucretia Mott herself but also from some of her coworkers—in such a way as to give full effect to the personal note without lengthy or cumbersome quotations. The least effective part of the biography is the treatment of Mrs. Mott's religious views and activities. For example, the doctrinal significance of the Hicksite controversy is not clear. In every other respect Miss Cromwell has made a distinguished contribution to biography and to the literature of social reform.

Hunter College

MADELEINE HOOK RICE

SUSAN B. ANTHONY: REBEL, CRUSADER, HUMANITARIAN. By *Alma Lutz*. (Boston: Beacon Press. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 340. \$5.75.) Whether one leans toward the view of Simone de Beauvoir or that of Mary R. Beard regarding the lot of the female in the course of history, a study of Susan B. Anthony's record will bring conviction that in nineteenth-century America woman's position left much to be desired, and that this militant feminist fought harder than any other single person in that century to improve it. Susan learned early to think in nonconformist terms from her Quaker background and her abolitionist father. Both teaching and the marriage proposals that came her way proved uninspiring, but she found outlet for her emotions and her tremendous energies in crusades for reform. From battles for temperance and the Negro she moved to a lifelong campaign to raise the status of her own sex. By the 1890's, according to Miss Lutz, "in the mind of the public she personified woman suffrage." Certainly this idealist who bargained so brilliantly with the leaders of her generation deserves a fitting niche in the history of her period. That she has not received it is partly her own responsibility. When Ida H. Harper's two-volume biography was completed under Susan's direction, most of her diaries and letters were destroyed. Later, Katherine Anthony (no family connection) found herself uncomfortably dependent upon the scarcely impartial Harper account when she undertook a biography. Yet, after scouring manuscript collections, she produced in 1954 a remarkably objective work (see review in *AHR*, LX [Apr., 1955], 690), although its lack of footnotes is maddening. Susan emerges with more flesh and blood from her pages than from those of Miss Lutz. The latter has produced a smooth, workmanlike job, but it fails to penetrate the surface record of events. The study gives an appearance of good scholarship; the bibliography lists an imposing number of manuscript collections and a fair number of newspapers. Also, Miss Lutz has included backnotes. But these citations only reveal that her presentation stems directly from the Harper biography and the *History of Woman Suffrage* edited by Susan, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Matilda J. Gage. Newspaper quotations add spice to the text, but most of them come from Susan's scrapbooks, her newspaper *The Revolution*, or the Harper biography. Miss Lutz is sometimes uncritical in her assumption that generalizations on press reaction can be made from scrapbook clippings. Finally, she attempts no real evaluation of her subject's work against the background of the changing political, economic, and social scene. This slim volume is not the definitive biography of Susan B. Anthony.

Washington, D. C.

MARY R. DEARING

THE SEVEN WORLDS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. By *Edward Wagenknecht*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1958. Pp. xvii, 325. \$6.50.) Within two years the nation celebrated centennial birthdays of two of its greatest Presidents: Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt. It is curious that Wilson's centenary, 1956, called forth a large number of very critical and analytical evaluations, whereas Roosevelt's celebration, 1958, was the occasion for the writing of appreciative volumes. With several notable exceptions, the Wilson evaluations were fresh and critical, the Roosevelt material admiring. It may be that an age accustomed to tragedy and irony finds Wilson a more suitable figure for concern than the bombastic, rarely subtle Roosevelt. Roosevelt may be much too hearty and old-fashioned to speak to this generation. Edward Wagenknecht's volume portrays the many-sided Roosevelt, in all his glory, in the contexts of the several worlds he inhabited and dominated: the worlds of action, thought, human relations, family, spiritual values (aptly, the slimmest of the chapters), public affairs, war, and peace. It offers a spritely, descriptive summary of the attitudes and actions of a remarkable man. The author has labored diligently in the

vast Roosevelt material, as the extensive though unannotated bibliography suggests. For the nonprofessional reader the book is delightful. Professional students of the American past, however, will find it of little use. Some of them will, undoubtedly, be irritated by the use of evident (if sometimes unintended) hyperbole. Thus, for example, we are told that "It is impossible that there can ever have been a cleaner-living man than Theodore Roosevelt." On another occasion, TR's extravagant concern for others is compared with "Him who thought it no degradation to wash his disciples' feet." On the other hand, the author expresses dismay in explaining "how a man who loved animals as much as Roosevelt did could still *enjoy* killing them." This is an altogether bully book, lively, earnest, exuberant. Packed with anecdote, it captures well the enthusiasms, passions, and prejudices of its subject. It is not unmindful of the moral dimensions of TR's career. Many readers will be pleased with the appropriateness of the book for the occasion.

University of Minnesota

CLARKE A. CHAMBERS

AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS: THE FIRST FORTY YEARS. By *John B. Rae*. (Philadelphia: Chilton Company. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 223. \$6.00.) The rather prosaic title of this volume belies the factual and fascinating story about the famous and not so famous personalities who founded and developed the automobile industry in the United States. The author gives credit where it is due and makes no pretense of denying the fact that most of the early development of the gasoline-powered vehicle was performed in Europe. The author takes the reader from the beginnings of the horseless carriage in this country before the turn of the century through forty years of technological and corporate adventures to the period just before World War II, when the automobile industry had become almost completely dominated by the "big three" manufacturers. In that period as many as 2,900 cars of different names were built in the United States, the American production line that was to revolutionize the world was developed, and many great fortunes were established and a few lost. The prominent names of the industry's early days are fitted neatly and accurately into the pattern that made the automobile age. Duryea, Buick, Nash, Packard, Olds, Leland, Durant, Sloan, Chapin, Pope, Ford, Selden, Winton, and Chrysler are among those whom the author parades through their tribulations and successes. One of the most interesting sidelights of the book to the business-minded student is the background of the early manufacturers. The author points out that a surprisingly large number for that day were college-trained engineers, but the men who had been trained as machinists and mechanics outnumbered and overshadowed them. Only two really conspicuous examples, William C. Durant and John N. Willys, are found of men reaching the top without any technological background or associations. Both rose high, the author relates, but they also fell hard. *American Automobile Manufacturers* will be particularly valuable for the student of automotive lore. It is copiously supplied with source notes at the end of each chapter. The author has made a significant and readable contribution to the history of the automobile.

Scarsdale, New York

FRED KELLY, JR.

THE TRAGEDY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY. By *William Appleman Williams*. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1959. Pp. 219. \$4.75.) William Appleman Williams is a brilliant but perverse historian of American foreign policy—and this little book demonstrates both his virtues and his defects. One can have very real admiration for a writer who draws his literary bow so widely, embellishing his chapter headings with quotations, among many others, from Joseph Conrad and W. H. Auden, Richard Wright and C. P. Snow, and who demonstrates also such an extensive knowl-

edge of disciplines other than his own. But Williams is so obsessed by an almost exclusively economic interpretation of foreign policy that he tends to ignore such material as does not support his point of view, and arrogantly dismisses rather than answers what he considers the mistaken ideas of most of his fellow historians. His present theme is that since the opening of the century American foreign policy has in the final analysis been a program of economic expansion dictated by the country's corporate leadership. He terms this policy "open door imperialism" and describes it as stemming directly from John Hay's notes on China ("the classic program of imperial expansion"), but broadened and carried forward by successive administrations with world-wide implications. For fifty years it appeared to work brilliantly, Williams states, but its fundamental failure—the "tragedy" of his title—has now become apparent. While open-door imperialism has built an American empire, it has not sustained equitable development in the areas into which the United States has expanded, and it has prevented any accommodation with the revolutionary movements that are making over the twentieth-century world. What is essential today, therefore, is an "open door to revolutions" rather than an open door to the continued economic exploitation of the underdeveloped countries. It is impossible to give a satisfactory outline of the argument of this book in a brief review. And it is argument rather than diplomatic history. But however one may quarrel with Williams' major thesis or become annoyed with his dogmatic judgments (the threat to the open-door policy, for example, "crystallized the cold war"), *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* is stimulating and provocative. Its often enlightening treatment of the background of policy making and much of what it has to say about the present world situation make it for all its exaggeration and overemphasis a highly interesting contribution to today's great foreign policy debate. Williams' style is at times somewhat less than crystal clear (one could wish that he was not quite so enamored with "structure" as a verb), and his documentation is limited to a brief note on "evidence and insights."

Ohio State University

FOSTER RHEA DULLES

ROBERT LANSING AND AMERICAN NEUTRALITY, 1914-1917. By Daniel M. Smith. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LIX.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. iv, 241. \$5.00.) Mr. Smith's painstaking and well-documented study brings to light little new information on America's road to war, 1914 to 1917. In the main it emphasizes and fortifies familiar interpretations of that period. Scholars long since concluded that Lansing anticipated Wilson in regarding war with Germany as inevitable, that he was more consistent than Wilson in viewing the cause of the Allies as that of the United States and in linking it with the cause of world democracy, and that his persistent pressure for intervention was a significant factor in determining the President's course. If anything more than this emerges from Smith's detailed narrative, it is new emphasis upon Wilson's tortured hesitancy when on the brink of war, and upon Lansing's insistence that a German victory, or even a stalemate, would imperil the future security of the United States. Thus the work contributes a partial answer to the question of whether the United States entered the war to preserve the balance of power; a partial answer because, first, Lansing talked much of ideology (democracy) and little of power relations, and second, the effect of such arguments on Wilson is not clear. Would the United States have entered the war if Germany had adhered to the *Sussex* "pledge"? The question is still unanswered, though Lansing's wishes are explicit. "I hope that those blundering Germans will blunder soon," he wrote in his diary in January, 1917, "because there is no doubt but that the Allies in the west are having a hard time. . . . The Allies must *not* be beaten. It would mean the triumph

of Autocracy over Democracy; the shattering of all our moral standards; and a real, though it may seem remote, peril to our independence and institutions. . . ." Scholars, to whom mainly if not alone this monograph will appeal, will regret that a university press insisted upon making backnotes of the footnotes.

Hood College

JULIUS W. PRATT

AMERICAN HISTORICAL FICTION. By *A. T. Dickinson, Jr.* (New York: Scarecrow Press. 1958. Pp. vi, 9-314. \$6.50.) This bibliography of 1,224 historical novels published in the United States from 1917 to 1956 is sensibly categorized into period and subject. The author, who was trained at the Graduate Library School in the University of Chicago, has not undertaken to read the books he lists; his selections and descriptions of content are based on comments in *Booklist*, *Fiction Catalogue*, and on secondary studies of the historical novel. His classified list is reasonably inclusive and well indexed. Mr. Dickinson adds nothing to knowledge of historical fiction with his introductory essay, and his sixty-page analysis of "background and themes" is weakened by his haphazard and ill-informed selection of what he regards as representative books. Any student who seeks a critical introduction to this voluminous literature should continue to rely on Ernest E. Leisy's *The American Historical Novel* (Norman, Okla., 1950).

Princeton University

ROBERT A. LIVELY

ANGRY VOICES: LEFT-OF-CENTER POLITICS IN THE NEW DEAL ERA. By *Donald R. McCoy*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1958. Pp. 224. \$4.00.) This work is a brief account of several efforts to patch together a national third party during the 1930's. As such, it is narrower in scope than the title suggests. "Left-of-center" politics in labor unions, farm organizations, and within the Democratic party itself are barely touched. What is told, chiefly, is the story of a small number of self-conscious politicians and publicists, who tried to parlay their splinter-followings into a major party. These are the specific groups discussed by the author: the League for Independent Political Action, the American Commonwealth Political Federation, the Union party, and the National Progressives of America. They were large in name, small in deeds, and lie buried without tears. To anyone familiar with the history of third-party aspirations over the past century, this book adds little of value. It presents several rounds of the well-known cycle in futility politics: grandiose proclamations, delusions of power, and the inevitable pricking of the bubble. Professor McCoy may have been taken in a bit by his own materials. He indicates surprise when a "promising" movement plunges to oblivion, and in his summation he magnifies the influence of fringe politicians and organizations. In one chapter of a somewhat different order, he gives a sketch of the rabble-rousers Long, Coughlin, and G. K. L. Smith. Although no important interpretations are developed, this a useful reminder of the national potential for demagoguery. The book shows little more depth than breadth. While the author has consulted a number of manuscript collections and has conducted several interviews, he relies generally upon printed sources. These include a limited list of relevant books, magazine articles, and newspapers (mainly the *New York Times*). McCoy has put some "angry voices" on the record, but he has revealed no fresh insights or provocative ideas concerning "left-of-center" politics.

Michigan State University

THOMAS H. GREER

HISTORY OF U. S. MARINE CORPS OPERATIONS IN WORLD WAR II. Volume I, PEARL HARBOR TO GUADALCANAL. By *Lieutenant Colonel Frank O. Hough*, *Major Verle E. Ludwig*, and *Henry I. Shaw, Jr.* (Washington, D. C.: Historical

Branch, U. S. Marine Corps; distrib. by Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1958. Pp. x, 439. \$5.00.) This is the first of a projected five-volume history of United States Marine Corps operations in World War II. After tracing the prewar development of Marine amphibious equipment, techniques, and doctrines, this volume covers combat operations at Wake Island, the Philippines, Midway, and Guadalcanal. The late Lieutenant Colonel Hough and his associates profited by the research done on earlier Marine combat operation monographs. The publication of this volume fills a need that many students of military affairs have felt for a Marine Corps complement to the Navy point of view expressed in S. E. Morison's *The Struggle for Guadalcanal* (Boston, 1950), to the Army-oriented account by J. W. Miller, Jr., in *Guadalcanal: The First Offensive. The U. S. Army in World War II* (Washington, D. C., 1949), and to *The Army Air Forces in World War II. The Pacific: Guadalcanal to Saipan*, Volume IV, edited by W. F. Craven and J. L. Cate (Chicago, 1950). Japanese as well as American documents were examined by the authors in a reevaluation of earlier accounts of these engagements. The result is a well-organized, detailed history of the first great amphibious assault conducted by the United States in World War II. The account shows that our conduct of the Guadalcanal operation had all the imperfections of a first "austere" amphibious effort. American command arrangements were needlessly complicated. A struggle for control developed between Rear Admiral R. K. Turner, commander of the Amphibious Force and Major General A. A. Vandegrift, commander of the First Marine Division, which did the fighting on shore. The climax came August 2, 1942, when the carriers and transports were withdrawn from the area, leaving the First Marine Division with only four units of fire and a thirty-seven-day supply of food. Shortly after this Admiral Turner proposed converting the only immediately available reinforcing unit, the Second Marine Regiment, into "raider battalions" and suggested sending some of them to other areas. He wrongly assumed that raider battalions would be better adapted to amphibious warfare in the Pacific than Marine regiments and divisions. American ship-to-shore gunnery was ineffective. Employment of American carriers seems to have been on the cautious side. Fortunately for the United States Marine force on Guadalcanal, mismanagement of affairs was even greater on the Japanese side. They failed to coordinate their military movements and wasted their assets in piecemeal fashion. From this time on the Japanese were on a descending curve of air and naval power, and they never again successfully defended an area under attack by American sea, ground, and air forces.

Santa Monica, California

HARVEY A. DE WEERD

LATIN AMERICA

POWER AND PROPERTY IN INCA PERU. By *Sally Falk Moore*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 190. \$5.00.) Dr. Moore's examination of the functioning of the Inca state demonstrates how historical interpretation can make contributions in the absence of new sources. Her procedure is to approach known sources with specific questions. Her interests are in Inca land tenure, taxation, bureaucratic organization, and applied law. In general she finds in the original sources a discrepancy between law and practice and in secondary literature an extreme emphasis on law with a neglect of practice. Rejecting socialist and other abstract classifications for the Inca government, she rejects likewise much of the tripartite land divisions, the decimal hierarchy, and the labor tribute. It is indicated that the Incas themselves elaborated an idealized societal form, and that it is this fiction that has led previous students astray. With regard to land, the analysis yields the suggestion that community property was

much more extensive than Inca property and that individually held lands existed side by side with the tripartite types. With regard to taxation it is shown that tribute in labor meant payments in material produce and that local taxation was more burdensome to the payers of tribute than was imperial taxation. The decimal hierarchy emerges as an administrative body consisting more of local governors than of Inca rulers. The result of these various conclusions is an emphasis upon regional custom and decentralization in the Inca state. In the presentation of these materials there appears a tendency to repeat the argument and a further tendency to modify the terms of the argument as it recurs. ("There is strong evidence that the completely government-supported Inca bureaucracy so often admired may not have existed. Allusions to the *curaca's* lands suggest this The conception of an Inca bureaucracy vanishes and that of a local landed nobility takes its place when evidence of the *curaca* lands is given its proper importance.") The book's purpose is, at least at one point, stated with caution: "to try to reconstruct from the fragments of information in the Spanish sources what is missing in the idealized scheme." But the author's delight in iconoclasm is precariously held in check. A careless reader might receive the impression that the book accomplishes more than it does. A careful reader, aware of this, might be misled into thinking that it accomplishes less.

State University of Iowa

CHARLES GIBSON

DESCRIPCIÓN DEL VIRREINATO DEL PERÚ: CRÓNICA INÉDITA DE COMIENZOS DEL SIGLO XVII. Edited, preface, and notes by *Boleslao Lewin*. [Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas Colección de Textos y Documentos, Series B, Number 1.] (Rosario: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Facultad de Filosofía, Letras y Ciencias de la Educación. 1958. Pp. 140.) Publication of this anonymous early seventeenth-century description of Peru initiates a series that promises to be of major importance. The original manuscript is in the French National Library and only parts of it have hitherto been published. After general comments about Peru's climate, geography, and products, there follows a description of principal settled places. The author noted particularly agricultural and handicraft production, the state of defenses, mineral production, trade, and social conditions. One is impressed by the commercial magnetism of Lima, which was destined for so large a share of the wheat, maize, sugar, livestock, minerals, and other fruits of economic activity. Unusually restrained and factual in narration, the author was truly enthusiastic about the *limeñas* whom he found to be the most beautiful and best-formed women in the world. The men he described in less glowing terms. Although not a moralist, he denounced immorality and debauchery, whether among Indians or whites, and took a few sly digs at religious orders. The author was probably a Portuguese Jew engaged in trade, and, the editor concludes, wrote this report for the Dutch who were then preparing New World adventures. During a residence of fifteen years, from about 1605 to 1620, this keen observer accumulated a vast store of information. He ranged far and wide but his travels within the viceroyalty almost certainly did not take him beyond the present Peru, Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador. This is a document rich in reliable observation and description, upon which all scholars interested in colonial Latin America may draw with profit. A series so auspiciously inaugurated deserves a long life.

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LA EXPEDICIÓN NORTEAMERICANA CONTRA EL PARAGUAY, 1858-1859. Volume II, LOS RESULTADOS. By *Pablo Max Ynsfran*. [Biblioteca de Historia y Arqueología Americanas.] (México, D. F.: Editorial Guaranía. 1958. Pp. 278.) Pub-

lished in 1954, the first volume of this work dealt with the commercial venture in Paraguay of a United States entrepreneur, Edward A. Hopkins; the role of the United States Navy's "scientific" expedition led to Paraguay by Lieutenant Thomas J. Page; and the course adopted toward these visitors by the president-dictator, Carlos Antonio López. Hopkins, his position undermined by his own irresponsible actions, departed in 1854, and early in 1855 Page's ship blundered into a cannonade with a Paraguayan battery. United States representation in Paraguay was but recently and insecurely established, and gave our government no clear view of these events. As this second volume opens, President James Buchanan resolves on a punitive expedition to redeem insult to our flag and to force payment of losses sustained by the United States company headed by Hopkins. From this point on the author carefully unfolds the story of this expedition of more than a dozen warships which never entered Paraguayan waters, and of the negotiations at Asunción involving a United States commissioner; President López; President Urquiza of the Argentine Confederation who came to Paraguay for this purpose; and a would-be participant, the Brazilian representative Amaral. With Urquiza's mediation the results were a United States-Paraguay treaty (signed February, 1859) and a convention specifying that a joint commission at Washington would settle the company's claims. United States Commissioner Cave Johnson soon ruled that no basis existed for such claims, and the matter died. Ynsfran's sources, gathered from every side, are excellent, and he exploits them very well. He deals out judgment with an even hand, now criticizing the erratic procedures of López and again censuring the inconsistencies of Hopkins, Page, and others. Thus the positive and negative aspects of this controversy are brought plainly to view, with the author's opinions clearly indicated. Indeed, in penetrating this tangle of personalities and political undercurrents, Ynsfran uses to good effect his own experience of public affairs. The results is not only a lucid narrative but a fine history book, placing the controversy in its regional context and illuminating the little-known record of early relations between Paraguay and the United States. It contains documents (some appearing for the first time), a detailed bibliography, and a good index for both volumes.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The 1959 meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, December 28-30. The Council will meet December 27. Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University is Program Chairman; Professor Paul Barton Johnson of Roosevelt University is Local Arrangements Chairman.

Since the publication of the 1958 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History* a new file of dissertation titles has been started at AHA headquarters. Students and their advisers are urged to send in titles as soon as they are adopted and to inform the office if changes are made. The primary purpose of the *List* is to avoid duplication. The next *List* to be published will include all titles received and registered in this file since September, 1958, as under way or completed in history departments in the universities of the United States.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received first shipments of the papers of Jesse Holman Jones (1874-1956) as the gift of Mrs. Jones. It is expected that eventually the papers will cover the various phases of his career. The material thus far received (approximately sixty thousand pieces) consists largely of Mr. Jones's personal correspondence during the years he served in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and as Secretary of Commerce.

The papers of Rear Admiral Stanford C. Hooper (1884-1955), who has been called the "Father of Naval Radio," have been added to the Naval Historical Foundation collection in the Library of Congress. Many outstanding authorities on radio in government and in private industry are represented in the more than ten thousand Hooper papers, which date from 1916 to 1952 and thus cover the years Admiral Hooper served as Director of Naval Communications, 1928-1934, and chairman of the Naval Research Committee, 1934-1939. The papers also include 150 reels of magnetic tape on which Admiral Hooper and other pioneers in the field traced the "Naval History of Radio-Radar-Sonar."

Colonel William S. Culbertson, distinguished American diplomat, educator, author, and authority on the economics of world trade, has presented his papers to the Library. The approximately 35,000 items, dated from 1906 to 1958, consist of correspondence, memoranda, and manuscripts of his speeches, articles, and books. They include materials that relate to Colonel Culbertson's work as mem-

ber and later vice-chairman of the United States Tariff Commission (1917-1925) and to his service as ambassador to Roumania (1925-1928) and to Chile (1928-1933). There are also papers dealing with his work in the field of geopolitics during World War II and with various international conferences he attended as this country's economic expert. Certain files may be used only by special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscript Division.

The papers of Henry F. Pringle (1897-1958), a large part of which were deposited in the Library in 1943, have been made a gift by Mrs. Pringle. They are composed mainly of correspondence, office memoranda, drafts of speeches, and pamphlet material accumulated by Mr. Pringle when he served as chief of the publications division of the Office of Facts and Figures and the Office of War Information (1943-1944) and as consultant to the War Department (1944-1945).

Dr. Lyman Bryson, author, lecturer, educator, and broadcaster, has presented the first installment of his papers (about 3,900 manuscripts) to the Library. These contain correspondence, scripts of radio broadcasts, and manuscripts of books and articles. The Library has received also the first installment of the papers of another well-known author and broadcaster, Eric Sevareid, as the gift of Mr. Sevareid. The approximately ten thousand items, which include correspondence from 1946, drafts of articles and books, and drafts and copies of broadcasts and interviews, may be consulted only by special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscript Division.

The May, 1959, issue of the Library of Congress *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* contains an article on the Chester A. Arthur Papers and a comprehensive report on materials added to the holdings of the Manuscript Division during 1958.

Records recently accessioned by the National Archives include correspondence of the Office of the Chief of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering and predecessor units (1940-1954), records relating to the Bureau's discontinuance of Arlington Farm and the construction of research facilities at Beltsville, Maryland, and other localities (1933-1942), and records of the Bureau's Division of Farm Machinery (1926-1954) and of the Horticultural Crops Research Branch (ca. 1890-1952); machine tabulation listings of federal real property holdings made in connection with the First, Second, and Third Inventories of Real Property Owned by the United States (1953-1956) and the First Inventory of Real Property Leased to the United States throughout the World (1956); records of the United States Attorney for the District of Minnesota (1869-1912); and records of the President's Committee on Scientists and Engineers (1956-1958).

The National Archives has published one additional guide to German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia, no. 7, *Records of Headquarters, German Armed Forces High Command* (Part I). The guides were prepared by the American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents.

Additional information about both microfilm and copies of the guides to German records may be obtained from the Exhibits and Publications Branch, the National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

Among recently issued National Archives Microfilm Publications are Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs from the Southern (seven rolls) and Western (four rolls) Superintendencies and from twelve additional agencies (ninety-six rolls); Population Schedules of the 1820 Census for the State of Kentucky (fourteen rolls); Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, 1861-1902 (forty-four rolls); Index to Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Boston, 1848-1891 (282 rolls); and Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Officers below the Rank of Commander, 1854-1881 (274 rolls).

The 1958 volume of the series *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States* has been placed on sale by the Superintendent of Documents at a price of \$8.25. The volume contains transcripts of all presidential news conferences held during the year, speeches, message to Congress, and other material issued as White Houses releases. Included are items on Alaskan statehood, the reorganization of the defense establishment, nuclear tests, space science and exploration, the voyage of the *Nautilus*, the advancement of scientific education, anti-American demonstrations in Latin America, the situation in the Far East and the Middle East, and mutual security. This is the third volume in the series; volumes for the years 1956 and 1957 have already been released.

A significant portion of the Truman Papers was opened to researchers at the Harry S. Truman Library in Independence, Missouri, on May 11, 1959. Those who wish to use papers and other materials are requested to make advance application to Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director of the Library, Independence, stating the nature and purpose of their projects. This will give the staff an opportunity to locate materials of interest and will enable the researcher to begin work with minimum delay. Students will normally be expected to include letters of introduction from their professors with their applications.

MEETINGS

The Pacific Coast Conference on British Studies was formally organized at a separate meeting following the English History Session of the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held at Whittier, California, December 29, 1958. Officers elected for the ensuing year are: president, Professor Francis Herrick of Mills College; secretary-treasurer, Professor Guilford Dudley of Arizona State University. Those interested in the development of British studies in the western area are invited to contact the secretary-treasurer, Guilford Dudley, History Department, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

More than seventy representatives from thirty-seven colleges, universities, military institutes, newspapers, foundations, and government services gathered

at Ohio State University on February 27 and 28 to participate in a Conference on Civil-Military Relations. The meetings, sponsored jointly by the Defense Studies Committee and the department of history at Ohio State, discussed such topics as the development of wartime civilian leadership in Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and the United States; the tradition of civil-military relations in recent American history; the role of public opinion in policy making; and the development of a military elite in the Soviet Union and in Communist China.

The Society for French Historical Studies held its annual conference at Western Reserve University and the Case Institute of Technology in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 3 and 4, 1959. The meeting included a number of sessions with papers and discussions, luncheons offered by Western Reserve University and the Case Institute, a reception by the Western Reserve Historical Society and the French consular agent in Cleveland, a business meeting, and a concert of French music. The president of the Society, John Hall Stewart of Western Reserve University, and the vice-president, Melvin Kranzberg of the Case Institute, headed the committee on the program and local arrangements.

At the annual dinner the William Koren, Jr., Prize for the best article in French history published by an American or a Canadian in 1957 and 1958 was awarded to David D. Bien of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, for his article "The Background of the Calas Affair," published in *History*, October, 1958. This prize will be awarded annually.

Professor Evelyn Acomb of the State University of New York Teachers College at New Paltz was elected president for the coming year and Professor John B. Christopher of the University of Rochester, vice-president. Professor David H. Pinkney of the University of Missouri was reelected secretary-treasurer for a three-year term. The Society's next conference will be held on April 8 and 9, 1960, at the University of Rochester.

At the spring meeting of the Conference on British Studies in New York, April 4, 1959, Professor Peter Laslett of Cambridge University read a paper on "Social Change in Twentieth-Century Britain." Commentators were Professors Arnold Rogow of Haverford College, Stephen Graubard of Harvard University, and James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina.

At its Denver meeting April 22-24 the Mississippi Valley Historical Association elected Professor Frederick Merk of Harvard University as president for 1959-1960 and Professor Fletcher Green of the University of North Carolina as vice-president. The next meeting of the MVHA will be held in Louisville, Kentucky.

As has been usual since World War II, the Stockholm International Historical Congress (August 21-28, 1960) will have as the standard morning program the discussion of reports printed and distributed well in advance of the Congress,

and for the afternoon program a series of twenty-minute papers, related in general to the morning reports, and both read and discussed at the meetings. The following reports are being prepared by scholars from the United States: Felix Gilbert of Bryn Mawr College, "Cultural History, Its Development and Methods"; Sterling Dow of Harvard University, "Some Problems on the Bronze Age"; W. Norman Brown of the University of Pennsylvania, "Traditional Culture and Modern Developments in India"; Earl J. Hamilton of the University of Chicago, "Price History before 1750." Papers by scholars from this country will include: Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago, "The Problem of Generalization of the Writing of History"; Carl Schorske of Wesleyan University, "Vienna in the *Fin de siècle*: Social Crisis and Cultural Expression"; R. H. Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania and the American Philosophical Society, "Relationship of European and American Medicine during the Nineteenth Century"; Woodrow Borah of the University of California, "New Demographic Research on the Sixteenth Century in Mexico: The Social and Economic Effects of Catastrophic Loss of Population"; William Albright of Johns Hopkins University, "Archaeology and History in Ancient Palestine"; H. C. Krueger of the University of Cincinnati, "Genoese Merchants, Their Investments and Contracts, 1155-1230"; Hajo Holborn of Yale University, "Christian Ethics and Power Politics in German Lutheran Thought of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries"; Bernard Bailyn of Harvard University, "Political Experience and Enlightenment Ideas in Eighteenth-Century America"; Henry Steele Commager of Amherst College and Columbia University, "The Reform Program of J. F. Struensee"; Howard K. Beale of the University of Wisconsin, "Changing Attitudes in the United States toward American Overseas Expansion, 1897-1907"; Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin, "American Philanthropy in Europe, a Historical Evaluation"; Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University, "Cultural Reverberations of Scandinavian Emigration to the United States in the Scandinavian Countries"; and A. L. Gabriel of the University of Notre Dame, "Foreign Students, Members of the English-German Nation at the University of Paris in the Fifteenth Century."

The meeting of the Governing Board of the International Committee of Historical Sciences for 1959 will take place at the end of August in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. The principal item of business will be the consideration of final plans for the Stockholm Congress.

DONALD C. MCKAY

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

In February the Ford Foundation announced programs to strengthen undergraduate teaching about Asian and other non-Western countries. Grants were given to Indiana University, Denison University, the University of Vermont, and Haverford College. For graduate study additional grants were given to the University of Chicago and to Yale University, and "for developing American-Asian educational and cultural relations" to the Asia Society.

The Social Science Research Council has announced the following fellowship awards in history: *Grants-in-Aid of Research*—I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard University, for research in Europe on the origin, development, and influence of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* and other work in the exact sciences; Francis G. James of Tulane University, for research on the United States and the Old Empire, 1688–1782; Leo F. Solt of Indiana University, for research on millenarianism and the sects during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–1657.

Faculty Research Grants—Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University, for a reevaluation of the “frontier hypothesis” as a means of interpreting United States history; Rushton Coulborn of Atlanta University, for research in the United States on the Prehistory of Middle America and Peru in the context of the development of civilized societies; Klaus Epstein of Harvard University, for research in Germany on the history of German conservatism from the French Revolution to World War I; John S. Galbraith of the University of California, Los Angeles, for research in England and South Africa on the missionary influence in South Africa, 1834–1854; Paul W. Gates of Cornell University, for research on federal land policies in California; Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., of Vanderbilt University, for research on the progressive movement in the South, 1900–1920; Wladyslaw W. Kulski of Syracuse University, for research on a new approach to international politics, based on differences between the nineteenth century and the present; David S. Landes of the University of California, Berkeley, for research in Western Europe on a comparative history of the Industrial Revolution; William L. Letwin of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for research in Ireland and Great Britain on Adam Smith and the origins of scientific economics; Elbert B. Smith of Iowa State College, for research on the career of Francis Preston Blair, 1791–1876 (renewal); John B. Wolf of the University of Minnesota, for research in France on the life of Louis XIV; Perez Zagorin of McGill University, for research in England on a social history of the English Revolution, 1640–1660.

Grants for Research on the Near and Middle East—John A. DeNovo of Pennsylvania State University, for research in the United States on American interests and policies in the Middle East, 1900–1939; Nikki R. Keddie of Scripps College, for research in England and Iran on the transformation of Iranian intellectual life, 1890–1914.

Grants for Slavic and East European Studies—Samuel H. Baron of Grinnell College, for research in Europe on the life and thought of G. V. Plekhanov; Robert V. Daniels of the University of Vermont, for research on the counter-revolution in Soviet thought: social and intellectual policies in the Soviet Union, 1929–1937; Sidney S. Harcave of Harpur College, for research on the life and role of Nicholas II (alternate); David Joravsky of Brown University, for research on the history of “Michurinist” biology; Victor S. Mamatey of Florida State University, for research in Europe on diplomacy, propaganda, and party politics in

Russia and East Central Europe, 1914-1920 (alternate); Michael B. Petrovich of the University of Wisconsin, for research in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria on historical research and writing by the South Slavs; Peter Sugar of Princeton University, for research on the industrialization of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian rule; Arthur Voyce of Stanford University, for research on the architecture of pre-Petrine Russia (alternate).

Auxiliary Research Awards—Wilson Smith of Johns Hopkins University.

Grants for Attendance at the International Congress of the History of Science—I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard University; Melvin Kranzberg of Case Institute of Technology; Harry Woolf of the University of Washington.

Under the Council's program for travel grants to scholars to attend international conferences abroad a limited number of grants will be offered for the meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences to be held in Stockholm in 1960. Those who wish to apply should write directly to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Under the auspices of the Joint Committee on Grants for Asian Studies, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council will make grants to individual scholars for research in the humanities and the social sciences relating to East Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. A grant from the Ford Foundation will support this new program. Applications are welcome from mature scholars who have already made significant contributions to Asian studies, and from those with established competence in a social science or humanistic field who wish to equip themselves for research on Asian problems. Eligibility is limited to permanent residents of the United States and Canada who have the Ph.D. or its equivalent and whose capacity for effective research has been demonstrated by their previous work. Inquiries and requests for application forms should indicate briefly the nature of the proposed research, the approximate amount of financial support required, the applicant's present position or activity, and advanced degrees held. All communications should be addressed to Grants for Research on Asia, ACLS.

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation has named twelve hundred American and Canadian students as Woodrow Wilson fellows, 34 per cent of whom are planning to take courses in the social sciences and 38 per cent in the humanities. These fellows, who begin graduate work next fall at eighty different universities, will receive a living allowance of fifteen hundred dollars apiece, plus the full cost of tuition and fees. Married students will receive additional stipends.

The Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs has initiated a program of grants-in-aid. These will usually be grants of less than five hundred dollars to provide travel and living expenses for short periods of work at the Library. For the immediate future, grants will be concentrated on

those who are working on the period of former President Truman's public career and those who will be using the resources of the Truman Library.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences announces that it will award annually three prizes of one thousand dollars each to the authors of especially meritorious unpublished monographs, one each in the fields of the humanities, the social sciences, and the physical and biological sciences. For the purposes of these awards a monograph is defined as a "scholarly contribution to knowledge, too long for an article in a learned journal and too specialized or too short for a general book."

The Royal Historical Society, London, announces that Maurice Lee, Jr., of Princeton University has won the David Berry Prize. This prize, a gold medal and fifty pounds, is awarded every three years for the best essay on a subject dealing with Scottish history in the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive. The next competition will be held in 1961. Correspondence relating to the competition may be addressed to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W., 10, England.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture and the Jamestown Foundation announce the establishment of a special prize competition for the best unpublished book-length manuscript about seventeenth-century America. The annual prize will consist of one thousand dollars and publication by the Institute. Manuscripts should be submitted not later than December 1, 1959, to James M. Smith, Editor of Publications, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Ernest Samuels, professor of English at Northwestern University, has been awarded the Francis Parkman Prize for 1958 by the Society of American Historians for his book *Henry Adams, the Middle Years, 1877-1891*, published by the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

The Council of Library Resources has made a grant of twenty thousand dollars for a study of the role of the independent historical society in today's world. The study will be made by Walter Muir Whitehill, Director and Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum. Four independent historical societies are sponsoring the study. They and their representatives are: Virginia Historical Society, John M. Jennings, Director, Richmond; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, R. N. Williams II, Director, Philadelphia; American Antiquarian Society, Clifford K. Shipton, Librarian, Worcester, Massachusetts; and Massachusetts Historical Society, Stephen T. Riley, Director, Boston. Mr. Whitehill's study is expected to result in a book-length report that will be published.

With a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies is sponsoring the preparation of a guide to materials in the British Isles on South Asia.

The University of Pennsylvania has received a \$75,000 appropriation from the Foundation for a study of the political, economic, and cultural aspects of nationalism in Argentina. The work will be directed by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker.

Dr. Louis Morton of the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, received a Rockefeller Public Service Award for 1959-1960 to study national security policy research at various American universities.

The Theodor Körner Foundation of Austria has awarded a research grant to Eric Kollman for the preparation of a biography of the late Austrian president, Theodor Körner.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

A recent study of social science requirements for bachelor's degrees (United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Social Science Requirements for Bachelor's Degrees*, Bulletin No. 8, 1959, pp. 18-26) covering the history offerings in 224 colleges and universities reveals that more than two-thirds of the institutions have a social science requirement toward whose fulfillment history courses may be taken. In order of frequency, American history or civilization ranked first, Western civilization second, and world civilization third. The study also describes the strengths and weaknesses of the various courses as these were reported by the institutions.

The United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has issued a *Guide to the National Defense Education Act of 1958*. It discusses and answers questions about the provisions of the Act, including those that pertain to loans to students and graduate fellowships.

The United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (*Higher Education*, Mar., 1959) has recently published figures concerning earned degrees at all degree-granting institutions in the United States in 1957-1958. In history 12,883 B.A. degrees were granted, 1,397 M.A. and 297 Ph.D. degrees.

According to Ray C. Maul of the Research Division of the National Education Association, the United States will need 425,000 new college teachers between 1959 and 1970. Fifteen thousand of these, according to Dr. Maul, will be needed in history.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Austin College: Edward Hake Phillips of Rice Institute appointed professor.
Brown University: Forrest McDonald, Executive Secretary, American History

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

Research Center, Madison, Wisconsin, and Donald G. Rohr of Williams College appointed associate professors; Klaus Epstein of Harvard University appointed associate professor to assume duties in 1960; Sydney James, recently of Kent State University, appointed assistant professor. *Bryn Mawr College*: T. Robert S. Broughton appointed professor-in-charge of classical studies in the American Academy in Rome, 1959-61. *University of Chicago*: Louis Gottschalk named the Gustavus F. and Ann M. Swift Distinguished Service Professor of History. *University of Connecticut*: Edmund A. Moore, head of the department of history for more than twenty-six years, has retired and will join the European area program of the University of Maryland in the fall. *Cornell University*: Dexter Perkins retired as John L. Senior Professor Emeritus of American Civilization; Brian Tierney appointed professor; Eugene F. Rice, Jr., promoted to associate professor; Walter F. LeFeber appointed assistant professor. *Duke University*: William E. Scott of Yale University appointed assistant professor; Winfred Bernhard, Theodore Crane, Donald Limoli, and Gaddis Smith appointed instructors. *Fairleigh Dickinson University*: William M. Armstrong of Washington College appointed associate professor. *Harvard University*: John K. Fairbank appointed Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History; Franklin Ford promoted to professor. *Haverford College*: John P. Spielman of the University of Michigan appointed assistant professor. *High Point College* (North Carolina): Alexander V. Berkis promoted to associate professor. *Huntington Library*: O. O. Winther appointed senior research associate in western American history for the calendar year 1960. *Library of Congress*: Daniel J. Reed, director of libraries at the University of Detroit since 1953, appointed Assistant Chief of the Manuscript Division; Lester K. Born named head of the Manuscripts Section of the Descriptive Cataloguing Division. He will supervise the establishment of the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections. *Long Island University*: Milton M. Klein of Columbia University appointed professor and named chairman of the department of history and government; Moses Rischin appointed assistant professor and Albert Fein and Donald Warren, Jr., appointed instructors. *Louisiana State University*: John Duffy promoted to associate professor; Patrick C. Lipscomb appointed instructor. *Mary Washington College*: Vivian L. Munson appointed instructor. *University of Michigan*: Robert I. Crane promoted to associate professor and Gerhard Weinberg appointed associate professor. *Montana State University*: Morton Borden and Paul Carter promoted to associate professors. *University of North Carolina*: Preston W. Edsall on leave on grant for study of North Carolina legislative politics. *Pennsylvania Military College*: William Edwin Sawyer promoted to professor, William Madison Rolofson to assistant professor. *Pennsylvania State University*: Richard E. Pipes appointed associate professor. *University of Pittsburgh*: Robert G. Colodny appointed associate professor.

Rice Institute: Francis Loewenheim appointed assistant professor. *Rider College* (Trenton, New Jersey): Leon J. Agourides promoted to associate professor.

State Department, Historical Division: Howard M. Smyth appointed American Editor in Chief of *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945*. *Trinity College:* Robert C. Black III and Norton Downs appointed associate professors. *Tulane University:* Hans A. Schmitt of the University of Oklahoma appointed associate professor. *University of Vienna* (Austria): Friedrich Engel-Janossi of Catholic University of America appointed professor. *Washington College* (Chestertown, Maryland): Robert Kirkwood of Clarkson College of Technology appointed associate professor. *Washington Missionary College* (Takoma Park, Maryland): Charles B. Hirsch of Potomac University appointed dean. *Western College for Women* (Oxford, Ohio): Isabel R. Abbott of Rockford College appointed dean. *Wheaton College:* Durward Long appointed assistant professor; Thomas Kay appointed instructor. *University of Wisconsin:* Marshall Clagett named professor in the university's new Institute for Research in the Humanities.

RECENT DEATHS

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., died in May, 1958, at the age of eighty-seven. Born in Eastern Bengal and educated at the Presidency College of Calcutta, he was for twenty-one years professor at the Patna Government College. In 1926-1928 he was vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, and from 1929 to 1932 he served on the Bengal Legislative Council. In 1929 he was knighted.

Sarkar's study of the Moghuls began in 1901 with his *India of Aurangzib*, and extended to 1950, with the publication of the fourth and last volume of his monumental *Fall of the Moghul Empire*. Earlier he had completed the five volumes of his *History of Aurangzib*, and from Persian manuscripts that he found he translated the *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*. Results of his studies of eighteenth-century contests for control of India were *Shivaji and His Times* and *The House of Shivaji*. He also wrote *The Economics of British India* and *India through the Ages*, his most general work. Remarkably successful in his literary finds, Sarkar collected some five thousand letters and papers of the Aurangzib period. He edited the second volume of the *History of Bengal* and collaborated with G. S. Sardesai in editing the fifteen-volume *Poona Residency Correspondence*. Termed "the Gibbon of India," Sarkar's major contribution was his intensive half-century study of the Moghul period. He was an honorary member of the Association.

Georges Bourgin, historian-archivist, died in September, 1958. Born in Nevers in 1879, he studied law at the École de chartes and entered the service of the Archives nationales in 1904. Several inventories are due to his careful work, and he was still conservateur of the Section ancienne when he died. Professor at the École pratique des hautes études for fifteen years, he gave a course on economic and social history, and especially on the history of labor.

He was long a member of the Comité des travaux historiques, the Commission and Sous-Commission des documents économique de la Révolution française, the Institut de l'Histoire de la Révolution française (Sorbonne), the Comité des

historiens français, vice-president and president of the Société d'histoire moderne, and president of the Commission internationale d'Histoire des mouvements sociaux et des structures sociales. Bourgin participated in international conferences of historians at London, Bucharest, Budapest, the Hague, Zurich, Paris, and Rome.

Among his numerous publications were volumes alone or jointly in the series of *Documents inédits sur l'histoire économique de la Révolution française*. He made important contributions to the bibliography of the *risorgimento*, the history of towns, the Catholic Church in France, history of the press, and social history. Bourgin translated a number of works on Italian history, and collaborated on Italian historical reviews as well as innumerable French learned reviews. Bourgin was always generous of time and encouragement for American historians studying in France. He will be missed by all those who were interested in social and economic history and the history of the press.

Joseph Stanley Jackson, associate professor emeritus at Carroll College, died at Waukesha, Wisconsin, January 17, 1959. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1932. A specialist in English history and the Renaissance, he was the author of *The Public Career of Sir Francis Burdett* (1932).

George Matthew Dutcher, professor of history at Wesleyan University, died at Middletown, Connecticut, on February 22. Born in Pleasant Valley, New York, in 1874, he became a student of Morse Stevens at Cornell University, where he received the Ph.D. in 1903. Joining the Wesleyan faculty in 1901, he became professor in 1905, serving until 1946. He was acting president of Wesleyan from 1918 to 1921. Chairman of the board of trustees of the Connecticut State Hospital for twenty-five years, he was honored by dedication of a hospital building as Dutcher Hall. He edited and contributed to the Connecticut Tercentenary Series of Historical Publications. His writings include articles on the enlightened despots, the political awakening of the Far East, and contributions as joint editor of the *Guide to Historical Literature* (1931). He was chairman of the committee on bibliography of the American Historical Association from 1915 to 1928. Lecturer at Harvard, 1923-1924, and Yale, 1926-1928, he also taught in summer sessions at the following universities: Cornell, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Northwestern, and California. He lectured at colleges around the world, 1921-1922; and again in 1930 he lectured, in behalf of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, at ten universities in Japan, China, the Philippines, and Hawaii.

Louis Henry Dielman, former librarian and executive secretary of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Maryland, and life member of the Association, died March 8.

Professor Robert Fortenbaugh, chairman of the department of history at Gettysburg since 1926 and life member of the Association, died March 16.

Donald Cope McKay, Anson D. Morse Professor of History at Amherst College, died at Amherst, Massachusetts, on April 1. Professor McKay was widely known in the historical profession as a major contributor to and organizer of French and Italian studies. He was an American member of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

Born in 1902 in Salt Lake City, Utah, Professor McKay did his undergraduate work at Stanford University, and received his Ph.D. degree from Harvard University in 1932. At that time he was already an instructor in the Harvard history department, and continued to serve there, with the exception of wartime duty with the Office of Strategic Services, until he resigned in 1956 to go to Amherst.

Professor McKay was known widely for his two books in the field of modern French history, *The National Workshops* (1933) and *The United States and France* (1951). He did not limit himself to this specialization, however, and his interests became steadily wider as his scholarly life advanced. As an outgrowth of his wartime service, more particularly as chief of the Research and Analysis Branch of the OSS in the Mediterranean theater, he became interested in the establishment of regional study programs at Harvard, and to this he gave vigorous leadership in the immediate postwar years. Subsequently, he turned his attention to the development of *risorgimento* studies. At the time of his death, he was absorbed in preparations for the 1960 meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, having served the previous October as one of the hosts for the first American visit of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

Paul Murphy, emeritus professor of classics and ancient history at the College of Idaho, died April 3.

Arthur M. Hyde, life member of the Association since 1928, died in Colorado.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

My attention has been called to several paragraphs in Professor Walter Prescott Webb's "History as High Adventure," which appeared in your January, 1959, issue, because it is quite obvious that we are the publishers of his *Divided We Stand*, which we brought out in 1937. Professor Webb says:

The book in original form trod on the toes of a powerful monopoly of patents, and it in turn trod on my publisher, leading to expurgation in galley of all reference to this company and to its products, glass bottles. The book was quickly declared out of print on the ground that it did not sell. . . . The original publisher is out of business.

Our records show that *Divided We Stand*, published in 1937, had two additional printings in 1938, and was in print until 1940. It was never remaindered. This company—it was then Farrar & Rhinehart—has certainly not gone out of business.

As to Professor Webb's allegation that certain cuts were made in the manuscript, these were not due to any pressure on the publishers by any northern vested interest, but because in our opinion and those of counsel they were as questionable as his current statements about this company and the publication history of his book.

In the same period, we published two other controversial books: *The American Chamber of Horrors* by Ruth de Forest Lamb, which was an exposé of certain violations of the Food and Drug Act by well-known northern manufacturers; and *Life Insurance: A Legalized Racket* by Mort and E. A. Gilbert. Although great pressure was brought on us to withdraw both these books, we felt that publication was in the public interest.

New York

STANLEY M. RINEHART, JR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Rinehart's memory of the case of *Divided We Stand* is understandably dim after the lapse of so many years. If he will examine the file of our correspondence when the book was in galley he will find that the facts, with the exception of one, vary considerably from his recollection of them as set forth in the last paragraph. Perhaps I was in error in stating that the publisher of my work is out of business. I suppose I should have said it has altered its name.

University of Texas

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I request space to comment on Irvin G. Wyllie's review of *The Responsibilities of American Advertising* by Otis Pease (*AHR*, LXIV, 467). Mr. Wyllie makes the damaging assertion that Pease "leans rather heavily on the [advertising] industry's self portrait." In elaboration, he represents Pease as arguing that "advertising men are not mere hucksters but 'crusaders for the liberation of middle-class people'" and that they are "reformers who favor 'a more progressive economic policy.'" The interior quotations are from Pease, but what does Pease, in fact, say? On page forty-one, he says that "those engaged in twentieth century advertising looked on themselves, in effect as crusaders . . ."; on page twenty-one he says that "the advertising man tended to look upon himself as an economic reformer." His entire treatment shows that he himself rejects these concepts, and it is loaded with caveats against them. The meaning which the phrases convey in context could hardly be more different from the meaning which is attributed to them in quotation.

Further, Mr. Wyllie suggests that Mr. Pease contracted these mistaken views from me. This tempts me to a labored argument that he could not have, since I do not hold them myself. Such an argument would stress my belief that any worthwhile analysis of the social effects of advertising will get farther by cold-blooded dissection of the basic forces at work than by hot-blooded denunciation of "hucksters." It would emphasize the distinction between contending that advertising is immensely important, which I do, and contending that it is all right, which I do not. This argument would also call attention to the discussion of the detrimental effects of advertising on American social standards in my *People of Plenty* (pp. 180-88) and to some severe strictures of mine on the mass media, in a symposium entitled *An Inquiry into Cultural Trends* (pp. 26-28, 39-40), which was

published, with some fortitude, I felt, by the Advertising Council itself. But clearly the real question is not whether it was I who led Mr. Pease astray, but whether he has in fact been led astray at all. Anyone who wishes to satisfy himself on that point can, I believe, find a clear-cut answer by making an examination, which need not be exhaustive, of Mr. Pease's book.

Yale University

DAVID M. POTTER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am amazed that Mr. Potter finds my review of the Pease book damaging, since on balance my appraisal was decidedly favorable. I commended Mr. Pease for writing a serious and useful book, for resisting all temptation to be amusing, supercilious, or superficial, and for giving us a history of the ethics of advertising (the main concern of the book) that is sensible, cautious, and sophisticated throughout.

While conceding the author's independence in his judgment of advertising ethics, I indicated that in his discussion of advertising's general social role (Chapter II, "National Advertising and the Good Life") he leaned rather heavily on the industry's published self-portrait. I do not find this chapter, which seems to be the only one at issue, "loaded with caveats against them," nor do I think Mr. Pease achieves complete disassociation merely through use of the phrase, "advertising men looked on themselves." On page twenty-six, despite the inclusion of one qualifying statement, he certainly conveys the idea that the industry generally supported labor's view of the wage question. "With regularity and conviction advertising men spoke out on behalf of high-wage policies and effective bargaining power for wage earners." Frequently they "found themselves aligned with spokesmen for labor and for a more progressive economic philosophy. . . ." The supporting evidence consists of two footnote citations to *Printer's Ink*, which certainly suggest heavy reliance on advertising's published self-portrait. One would like to know what the industry's closed files say about labor and the wage question, and whether labor itself recognized the advertising man as an ally.

Some of Mr. Pease's views are debatable, but I did not put them down as mistaken. Nor did I suggest that he contracted any mistaken ideas from Mr. Potter, or that he was led astray by him. I simply indicated that he joined Mr. Potter in chiding historians for underrating the social importance of advertising, a point easily verified through an examination of page viii of the Pease book and page 167 of *People of Plenty*.

I find it difficult to understand how my review could have inspired this protest.

University of Wisconsin

IRVIN G. WYLLIE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I cannot refrain from taking exception to several of the comments made by Francis B. Simkins in his review of my book *Doctors in Gray: The Confederate Medical Service* (*AHR*, Oct., 1958).

"If there was pathos about deaths in hospitals or on the field of battle," writes Professor Simkins, "we are not told this. If there were beautiful nurses Cunningham does not mention them." Perhaps some heart-rendering deathbed scenes were in order, but it is believed the average reader will find pathos and drama enough

in reports of soldiers freezing to death while on guard duty, being reduced almost to skeletons by diarrhea, undergoing amputations on makeshift operating tables slimy with blood, and suffering the horrors of the damned after major engagements as wounded captives in Federal hospitals. The publisher and I jokingly considered having the picture of an attractive female nurse on the dust cover; maybe we should have taken the matter more seriously. At any rate, my report of the hospital patient who persisted in removing his clothes every time Phoebe Pember entered his ward illustrates that these men of the fighting forces were not altogether unaware of women, whether beautiful or not, in the hospitals.

My answer to the statement that the book is "an endless stringing together of details" is the statement of a reviewer—better versed in medical matters than Professor Simkins—in another national journal that "Mr. Cunningham has studied and reported every aspect of medical care with a proper perspective for the important and the trivial."

Elon College

H. H. CUNNINGHAM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Cunningham omits from his comments that I praised the thoroughness of his research findings, and that, in my own words, I agreed with "the reviewer better versed in medical matters" concerning the author's report of "every aspect of medical care." These commendations do not contradict my assertion that the book is "an endless stringing together of details." The "pathos" may be present, but it is not graphically enough presented to compel attention. About this matter there is a difference of opinion over which we two should not quarrel.

Longwood College

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Miss Adrienne Koch's review of Robert D. Meade's *Patrick Henry: Patriot in the Making* (AHR, Jan., 1959) contains several factual errors which, I believe, need correction. Even casual readers must know that the book has been well received, both by historians and by the general public; it would be idle to pay undue attention to the opinion of one obviously prejudiced reviewer.

Nevertheless, a few obvious misstatements call for comment. Miss Koch states that the journal of the so-called "French traveler" contains the only eyewitness account of Henry's Stamp Act speech; Dr. Meade deals with surviving eyewitness accounts by Paul Carrington and Thomas Jefferson, as well as with a mass of supplementary evidence. Miss Koch refers, also, to Dr. Meade's having "interviewed countless Virginia ladies and gentlemen, who may have some gossip to transmit about 'the American Demosthenes.'" I find no evidence in the book that Dr. Meade has acted as gossip-monger, or has accepted undocumented rumor about Patrick Henry. From a purely practical point of view, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find Virginians now living who would be in a position to transmit such gossip.

In a somewhat contradictory statement, Miss Koch deplores the fact—or reputed fact—that "we are never put in touch with a man." Is Dr. Meade expected, then, to invent anecdotes to "humanize" his subject, or to collect gossip to substantiate personality traits nowhere suggested in authentic sources? In the first place, a glance at the index will direct the reader to a number of evaluations of Henry as

"a man"; furthermore, the second volume, not yet published, is the logical place for a sustained estimate of Henry's character.

I am surprised that a review in a scholarly journal should be so condescending in tone. I have long been familiar with Dr. Meade's work as scholar and historian; Miss Koch's review is a misleading estimate of a book which is, I believe, a lasting contribution to colonial and revolutionary history. I trust that readers of the review will at least turn to the book before accepting Miss Koch's conclusions.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College

MILDRED B. MUNDAY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Miss Mildred Munday claims that my critical review of *Patrick Henry* contains several factual errors, but she fails to establish a single one. She asserts that it is an "obvious misstatement" to say that the French traveler's journal presents the only eyewitness account of Henry's Stamp Act speech. But even Dr. Meade states that "the traveler's account is the only eyewitness description we have of Henry's Stamp Act speech" (p. 177). It should be clear, therefore, that Miss Munday is in error in this point. Perhaps her error arises from the fact that the journal entry significantly alters the traditional account of Henry's speech as given by Paul Carrington and Thomas Jefferson some fifty years after the event, and thus comes close to heresy for a Henry partisan.

Miss Munday's next charge is that she can find no evidence that Dr. Meade transmitted "gossip" about Henry. Perhaps I can help her, by referring to the extended footnote seventy-seven of Chapter xv, which reads:

Interview of Miss Sally Campbell. She was born at Glen Cairn in 1855 and her grandmother from whom she had the data on Mrs. Henry was Mrs. Harriett Brown (née Sheppard), born Aug. 3, 1799. Miss Campbell pronounced Patrick "Pähtrick." The neighborhood story of Mrs. Henry's insanity is repeated by several reliable witnesses. . . .

This footnote continues in the same vein for several paragraphs, and is typical of others. Here again Miss Munday is in error.

Her third charge is that something must be wrong with my critical review since "even casual readers must know that the book has been well received both by historians and by the general public." It should be apparent that the opinion of a casual reader is irrelevant to a responsible review for a scholarly journal. Nor is it the obligation of a serious reviewer to take a poll of what other critics might say about the book. However, I do not believe that my criticism is as singular as Miss Munday contends, since I am aware of at least one similarly critical review by the noted historian Carl Bridenbaugh, which appeared in the *New York Times* book review section on August 25, 1957.

Miss Munday's final charge is that it is contradictory to note that Dr. Meade uses "gossip" and that he yet fails to put us in touch with the man. In making this charge, she falsely implies that I considered Dr. Meade a "gossip-monger," and she herself confuses gossip about a person with knowledge of the person.

However, there is one statement in Miss Munday's comment which I do not find odd or wayward, and that is her closing hope that readers "will at least turn to the book before accepting Miss Koch's conclusions."

University of California, Berkeley

ADRIENNE KOCH

IN TRIBUTE

September 19, 1959, will mark the centennial of the birth of J. Franklin Jameson, first and long-time editor of the *American Historical Review*, the scholar who in the opinion of his colleagues did more to promote historical research in America than any other man.

EDITOR'S NOTE

For many years this editor and his predecessors, including J. Franklin Jameson, have hoped to emphasize broad, interpretive essays and critical review surveys which sum up research in fields of wide interest. At its meeting in December, 1958, the Board of Editors once more expressed this hope. During the spring of 1959 the *Review* received enheartening support for this policy from historians throughout the country who were asked for specific and general suggestions. The *Review* will continue to publish research articles that uncover new facts. It will emphasize and try to obtain articles, however, that broadly cover and interpret major fields and subjects, that examine the nature of the study of history and present fresh points of view, that lead to intelligent new understandings, or that sum up, with critical analysis of the literature, what is known in major fields or about significant subjects.

When the *Review* began publication in 1895 it paid for accepted articles at the rate of \$3.00 a page. The practice of payment for articles, long discontinued, will be tried once more. For articles accepted after September 1, 1959, the *Review* will pay \$5.00 per *Review* page. After one year the Board of Editors will reexamine the question.

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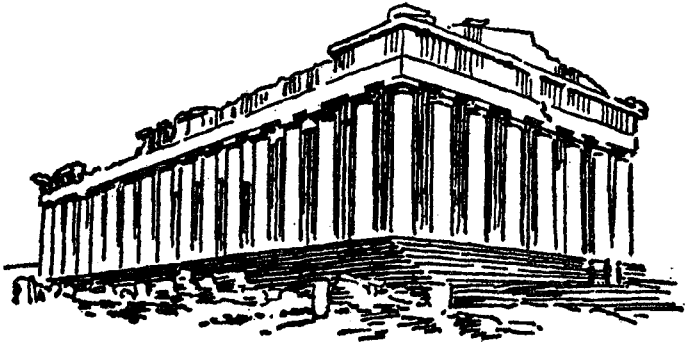
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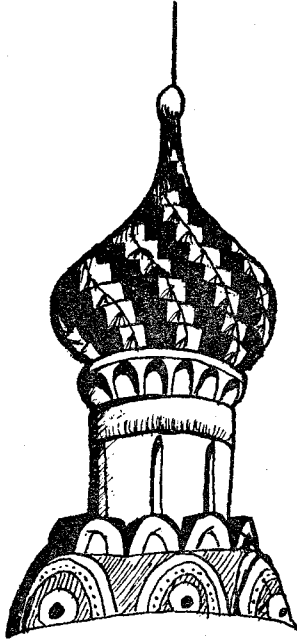
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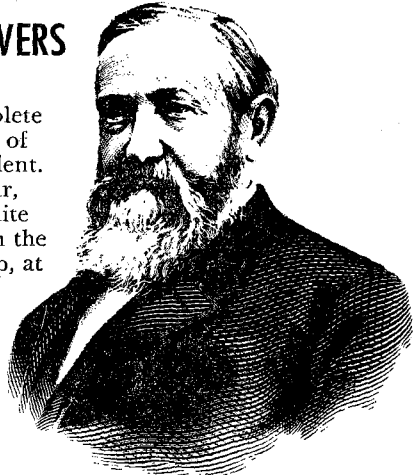
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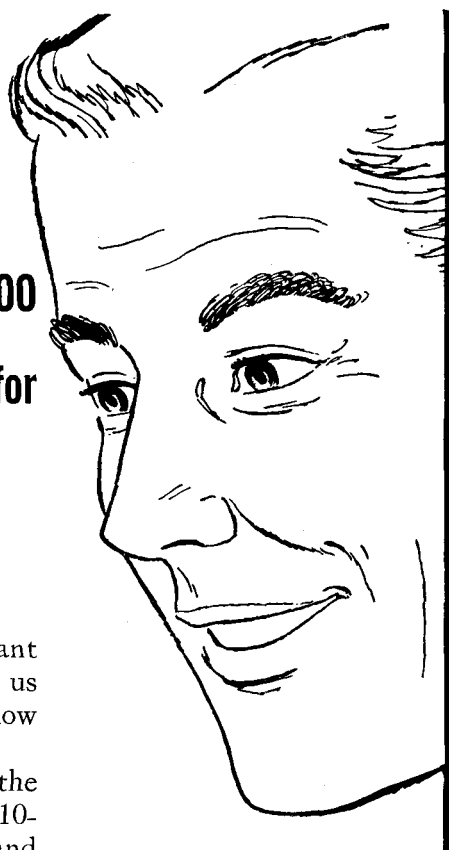
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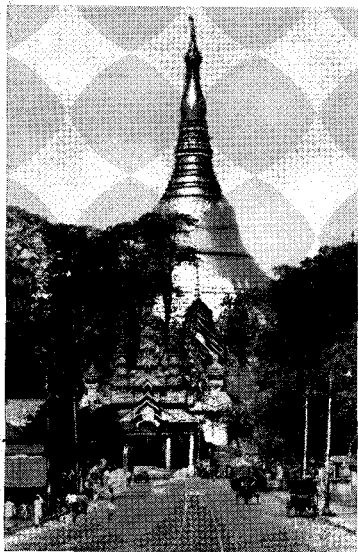
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